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HERODOTUS ON THE PELASGIANS IN ATTICA.

[There is no evidence in Herodotus for a late Pelasgian settlement in Attica. His phrase Πελασγοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο in i. 57 plainly means *dwelt with*, not *settled with*. The same meaning, when vi. 137 is taken into account, is most satisfactory in ii. 51. 12, and should be accepted in ii. 51. 7. The Pelasgians driven from Attica to Lemnos were in his view a remnant of the original population from whom the Hellenized Athenians "split off".]

This paper is grammatical rather than historical. It is primarily a discussion of the meaning of Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι a phrase which Herodotus uses three times, once in i. 57, twice in ii. 51. Some older translators recognized that the words could mean *Pelasgians dwelt with the Athenians*, but it seems to have become the established view that *settled with*, *came to dwell with* is a more accurate rendering, though its application to all three cases has not only given rise to differences of opinion between different scholars, but involved more than one in a virtual contradiction of himself. Within a few short chapters there are several apparently simple phrases which have been given very different interpretations, and the trouble comes chiefly from the assumption that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο must mean *settled with* and not *dwelt with*. If *dwelt with* is applied to all three cases the difficulties disappear. In itself the question is of small importance; but this phrase, incorrectly interpreted as implying a late Pelasgian incursion into Attica, has been made the basis of theories about the Pelasgians that have gained wide circulation, notably those of J. L. Myres (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* XXVII, pp. 191-204) and Ed. Meyer (*Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, pp. 6-8).

I am, of course, by no means asserting that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο could not mean *settled with*. Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 17. 1

says ἔπειτα Πελασγῶν τινες . . . τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν σύνοικοι γίνονται τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι, and it is clear that he meant *settled with*. Since Dionysius (i. 29. 3) in his discussion of the Pelasgians cites Herodotus i. 57, where σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο is used of Pelasgians, it is even probable that he borrowed the phrase from Herodotus. Nevertheless, σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο in Herodotus is just as likely to mean *dwelt with* as *became dwellers with*, and the choice between the two depends upon the context.

It should not be necessary to give proof that ἐγένοντο does not always mean *became*. The definition of γίγνομαι in *L. & S.* (old and new eds.) is "*become, and (in past tenses) to be.*" τούτων ἐπίτροπος ἐγένεθ' ἑκαίδεκα ἔτη Dem. 38. 12 means *of these he was (not became) guardian sixteen years* (Gildersleeve, *S. C. G.* i. § 243); cp. Dem. 9. 23; 21. 157; 24. 135. Demosthenes uses ἐγένετο because "with definite numbers the aorist is the rule." Herodotus uses the imperf. σύνοικοι ἦσαν in vii. 73; ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆμοι εἶντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι. He does so because he wishes to express time coextensive with the imperf. ἐκαλέοντο. If he had wished to say *they lived with the Macedonians 200 years*, there can be no doubt that he would have written σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο. σύνοικος is properly *a dweller with*, not *settler*, by the laws of Greek word formation; and good Greek authors so use it, though with δέχεσθαι, ἐπαγαγέσθαι it naturally implies *colonist*. It is no more strange that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο could mean either *dwelt with* or *became dwellers with* than that ἐβασίλευσε is *became king* in ἀνείλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης (Hdt. i. 13), while ἐβασίλευσε ἕτα δώδεκα (i. 16) is he *reigned*, and the aorist is not ingressive.

To make my argument easier to follow, I shall begin by stating a number of Herodotus' views about the Pelasgians that should be kept in mind. (1) Greece was once called Pelasgia—τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλεομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης ii. 56; and Pelasgians occupied the land later called Hellas—ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην viii. 44; (2) the Pelasgians were barbarians—τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν βάρβαρον i. 58; (3) the Athenians were originally Pelasgians and were Hellenized—τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας i. 57— and this is kept constantly in mind (cp. i. 56, 60; ii. 51; vii. 94-5; viii. 44); (4) there were Pelasgians in Attica after the

Athenians had been Hellenized, ii. 51; vi. 137 ff. They lived under Hymettus, were finally expelled, and then occupied "Lemnos and other places," vi. 137. This expulsion took place about the time of the return of the Heracleidae, iv. 145 ff.

The discussion turns upon the presence of Pelasgians in Attica after the fall of Troy. According to the accepted view Herodotus is supposed to tell us in ii. 51 that Pelasgians came from somewhere outside of Attica and settled with the Athenians. G. C. Macaulay translates the passage thus: "To make, as they do, the images of Hermes with the *phallos* they have learnt not from the Egyptians but from the Pelasgians, the custom having been received by the Athenians first of all the Hellenes and from these by the rest; for just at the time when the Athenians were beginning to rank among the Hellenes, the Pelasgians became dwellers with them in their land, and from this very cause it was that they began to be counted as Hellenes. Whosoever has been initiated in the mysteries of the Cabeiroi, which the Samothrakians perform having received them from the Pelasgians, that man knows the meaning of my speech; for these very Pelasgians who became dwellers with the Athenians used to dwell before that time in Samothrake, and from them the Samothrakians received their mysteries" (cp. Rawlinson). According to this version Herodotus tells us first that "the Pelasgians became dwellers with" the Athenians, without saying where they came from, and adds, half a dozen lines below, that they came from Samothrace. This is also the interpretation of J. L. Myres (*op. cit.*) with special modifications of his own, which I shall discuss later.

I believe that anyone reading this passage for the first time, if he were unacquainted with Pelasgian theories and other passages in Herodotus dealing with that people, would inevitably draw the conclusion that the Pelasgians came to Attica from Samothrace, *provided that* in the first sentence he took *σύνουκοι ἐγένοντο* to mean *settled with*. Yet this is not what may be called the orthodox view. Strabo (ix. 401) tells us, apparently quoting Ephorus, that Pelasgians were driven out of Boeotia to Athens and settled under Hymettus. Since Herodotus in vi. 137 says that the Athenians gave the Pelasgians the land at the foot of Hymettus, the obvious inference is that he meant the Pelas-

gians driven from Boeotia, and that he referred to this event when he wrote in ii. 51 Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. But, if this interpretation is accepted, the following sentence about Samothrace must mean, "Samothrace was formerly inhabited by Pelasgians, the very ones that (as I have just said) came (from Boeotia) to dwell with the Athenians," and the Pelasgians in Samothrace, instead of settling *in* Attica, must have come *from* Attica. The orthodox view explains the movement from Attica to Samothrace by reference to the statement in vi. 137 that the Pelasgians driven from Attica "occupied Lemnos and other places," the neighboring Samothrace being naturally, like Imbros (v. 26), one of the other places (cp. Stein, *ad loc.*).

Those who accept Strabo's statement as an historical fact will be satisfied with this explanation. This is not the place to discuss the reliability of Ephorus (Strabo) when dealing with the Pelasgians; but for the following reasons I do not believe that Herodotus knew of or accepted the Boeotian origin of the Pelasgians in Attica. (1) It is not likely that in ii. 51. 7 he should state that Pelasgians settled in Attica without adding that they came from Boeotia if he knew it. His usual custom in such cases may be learned by reading his account of the movements of Hellenes and Pelasgians in i. 56 ff., and of the origins and movements of the various Greek races in vii. 90 ff., viii. 44 ff. (2) In v. 57 he tells us that the Gephyraean family, to which Harmodius and Aristogiton belonged, were of Kadmeian origin and were driven into Attica by the Boeotians. This reference to the Boeotian occupation of the land later named from them—γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην v. 57—and consequent dislodgement of former inhabitants, would naturally suggest a mention of the expelled Pelasgians if tradition explained their presence in Attica in that way. Thucydides, too, makes no mention of the Pelasgians when he speaks of the Boeotian settlement in τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην i. 12. (3) It is difficult to believe that Herodotus could have written so carelessly as the orthodox view assumes; *i. e.* that in ii. 51. 7 he should mean by Πελασγοὶ σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι *Pelasgians settled with the Athenians*, and then in ii. 51. 12 call the Pelasgians in Samothrace οὗτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο, and expect his readers to understand that they came *from* Athens.

The fact is that, without Strabo's statement, the orthodox view would never have been formed from the text of Herodotus by itself. And yet Ed. Meyer and Busolt who hold this view put no faith in the reliability of Ephorus (Strabo) when dealing with prehistoric questions, and would not maintain that a statement of Ephorus must be taken into account in the interpretation of Herodotus. Busolt practically admits this (*Gr. Gesch.* i². 171); yet he does not see that his own interpretation of Herodotus depends upon Ephorus. If we take the text of ii. 51 and try to understand what Herodotus meant, we are forced to admit that the interpretation of Myres and most English translators is the more natural, that the Pelasgians in Attica came from Samothrace, provided that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο in the first sentence means *settled with*. Yet objections may be made to this view too. Why did not Herodotus say in the first sentence that the Pelasgians came from Samothrace? And why the emphasis upon the Athenians taking the Hermes cult from the Pelasgians "first of all the Greeks?" If the Pelasgians were in Samothrace before they came to Attica, why did not the Samothracian Greeks have the cult first of all, since they also, as he says, took the cult from the Pelasgians, and from the same Pelasgians as "came to dwell with the Athenians?" Did Herodotus take it for granted that his readers would know that there were no Greeks in Samothrace at the time of the move to Athens? And, a final objection, the translation of Macaulay (Rawlinson's is similar)—*these very Pelasgians who became dwellers with the Athenians used to dwell before that time in Samothrace*—is an *interpretation*, not a close rendering of the Greek. It assumes that πρότερον expresses the time of οἰκεῖν with reference to ἐγένοντο, and not simply from the point of view of Herodotus. But this is not the necessary meaning of the Greek. With equal right we may say "Samothrace was formerly inhabited by Pelasgians, the ones that *before that* settled in Attica." That is Stein's interpretation, and is what I have called the orthodox view. Macaulay and Rawlinson give this very meaning to the same words (omitting περ) in i. 57, to which I now turn.

Here our phrase οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι follows "of the Pelasgians who occupied Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont." "Who came to dwell with the Athenians," says Godley, accepting, apparently, the view of Myres that the movement was to

Athens, not *from Athens to Placia*. This time Rawlinson and Macaulay insert *before that* in the *relative* clause. Rawlinson has, "Who had previously dwelt *for some time* with the Athenians"; Macaulay, "who before that had been *settlers* with the Athenians." Stein has "*ἐγένοντο, fuerant.*" Zur Sache s. ii. 51, vi. 137 (a reference to the fugitives from Athens occupying "Lemnos and other places"). But how did Herodotus expect his readers to know that he meant "who had *earlier* settled with" instead of "who went to settle with the Athenians?" Why is not the view of Myres again the simpler and more natural one? Fortunately in this case there is no ground for doubt. The argument in i. 57 makes it plain that the Pelasgians in Placia came *from Athens*.

The question that interests Herodotus is the original language of the Athenians. He has just stated that the Lacedaemonians were originally a Hellenic race, the Athenians a Pelasgian (i. 56. 10) and continues (in summary): "I can not say with certainty what language the Pelasgians spoke, but to judge by those now living in Creston and in Placia, they spoke a barbarian language, so that the Attic race, which was originally Pelasgian, must have changed its language when it was Hellenized (provided that all Pelasgians were alike in that respect)." The argument seems to be complete. Herodotus has proved (with a proviso) that the Athenians at one time did not speak Greek. But he is not satisfied, apparently; he must add another proof. "For," he says, "the Crestoniatae and Placieni do not talk like their neighbors but like one another, which shows that they still have the language which they brought with them *when they moved to these places.*" This argument guards against a possible objection that the Pelasgians of Herodotus' day might have learned their language from their barbarous neighbors, but more important is the plain implication in *moved to these places* that we have been told where the Crestoniatae and Placieni came from. It is also evident that Herodotus knows that races which live far apart do not speak the same language unless they have come from the same original home. Thessaly and Attica, the homes of the Crestoniatae and Placieni, were both in Pelasgia, the former name of the region later called Hellas (ii. 56. 5).

It is impossible, then, to accept Myres's opinion that οἱ σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι in i. 57 means *who came to dwell with the*

Athenians from the Hellespont. But the language argument also proves that "who before that had been *settlers* with the Athenians" can not be right. Attica is the place from which the Placieni brought their language, and Herodotus must have thought of it as their original home. If the Placieni were merely *settlers* in Attica before they went to Placia, then the place from which they came and brought their language should have been mentioned. They could not have learned it in Attica after their arrival, since, according to ii. 51, if there was a late Pelasgian settlement in Attica at all, it was after the Athenians had been enrolled in the Hellenic family.

I can not leave this chapter (i. 57) without adding that one sentence has, in my opinion, been completely misunderstood because of the mistaken idea that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο must mean *settled with*, and the consequent failure to realize that there were other Greeks beside the Athenians to whom the phrase Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο (Pelasgians *lived with*) might be applied, a mistake the more easy to make because of the limitation of the phrase in ii. 51 to the Athenians. The accepted interpretation of ὅσα ἄλλα . . . μετέβαλε implies that Herodotus had knowledge of other Pelasgians living in his day besides those in Creston and Placia. Thucydides' statement (IV. 109) that Mt. Athos was inhabited by ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων . . . τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων is cited in this connection, though it will hardly be denied that Thucydides' intimate knowledge of this region need not have been shared by Herodotus. I reject this interpretation partly on syntactical grounds. Stein says that ὅσα ἄλλα . . . πολισμάτα is "statt ἄλλων πολισμάτων ὅσα." This genitive would depend upon τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι, but the change from τῶν Κρηστῶνα οἰκεόντων and τῶν Πλακίην οἰκησάντων is peculiar; the genitive πολισμάτων could not be partitive like the others. Godley, apparently, abandons the connection with τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι, for he says *and by other towns too*. Macaulay's translation brings out another difficulty. He has "by those that remain of the Pelasgians who settled at Plakia . . . and of the natives of the various other towns which are really Pelasgian, though they have lost the name." The insertion of *of the natives* illustrates the difficulty of connecting τοῖσι . . . ἐοῦσι with πολισμάτων, but his *are really Pelasgian* is plainly wrong. ἐόντα should take its time from its principal verb μετέβαλε; and, just

as τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν μετέμαθε means "the Attic race, which *was* Pelasgian (and is no longer), changed its language," so this clause should mean "the communities which *were* Pelasgian but changed their name." The conclusion that Herodotus was not in this clause speaking of other communities that were still Pelasgian in his day and still spoke Pelasgian, is made certain by the καὶ γὰρ sentence. He bases his argument here only on the language of the Crestoniatae and Placieni, and an important part of it is the original home of these people. Of these other hypothetical living Pelasgians we not only do not know where they are, we are left ignorant of their origin. If Herodotus had known of the Pelasgians on Mt. Athos that came from Athens, the natural, almost the inevitable, form of his argument would have been this: The Pelasgians of Mt. Athos and of Placia do not talk like their neighbors but like one another; they both came from Athens and must have brought their language from Athens; therefore the Athenians, a Pelasgian race, once spoke this barbarian language. We get a meaning that is in agreement with the rest of the chapter and a simple syntactical construction if we take the ὅσα clause to be dependent upon σύννοικοι. In support of this it is worth remarking that, whereas in ii. 51 the Ἀθηναῖοι precedes σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο, here it follows as if to lead over to the καὶ ὅσα. The meaning then is: "the Pelasgians who settled in Placia, who had lived with the Athenians and the other communities that were once Pelasgian but changed their name." Thus Herodotus does not vouch for all the Placieni coming from Athens. Some of them may have come from Arcadia.¹ The Arcadians, like the Athenians, were once Pelasgians but changed their name and language. Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί form part of the much mixed Ionic race in Asia Minor (i. 146). Some of them, still un-Hellenized, may have got as far as Placia. Whatever these other places were from which the Placieni came, they must all have been in the original Pelasgia, the later Hellas, from which the language was brought. By taking the ὅσα clause in the way I have suggested we get an explanation of the rather curious expression of doubt conveyed by the words εἰ τοίνυν ἦν

¹ In ii. 171 we learn that Pelasgians were driven from the Peloponnesus by the Dorians. The date would be nearly the same as that of the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Attica; see iv. 145-7, vi. 52.

καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν. It would not have been strange if Herodotus had been reluctant to believe that the Athenians were once Pelasgians and barbarians, but he asserts that fact without hesitation. It is only with regard to the language that he expresses a doubt. But if the Placieni came from Athens only and brought their language with them from Athens, any doubt about the Athenian Pelasgians being *of that kind* (τοιοῦτο) would be unwarranted; if they came also from Arcadia and other Pelasgian communities, the language might have been derived from the other and possibly different element.

My conclusion that σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο in i. 57 means *dwelt with* not *became dwellers with* might reasonably be applied to the relative sentence in ii. 51, and in these two instances it should be observed that I agree with the orthodox view in taking Herodotus to mean that the Pelasgians of Placia and Samothrace came from Athens, and differ only in that I claim that there is no implication in the relative clauses that these Pelasgians were at an earlier time *settlers* in Attica. Since the context should decide whether σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο means *dwelt with* or *became dwellers with*, I shall now examine the first instance in ii. 51 without reference to the other two. Here alone does the orthodox view assume *settled with* to be the meaning without further qualification. The sentence runs Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τέλειουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἤρξαντο νομοσθῆναι.

It is unfortunate that on two other points in this short sentence there is a difference of opinion about the correct interpretation. Rawlinson renders ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τέλειουσι by *just at the time when the Athenians were entering into the Hellenic body, the Pelasgi came to live with them*, Godley by *the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell with them*. If Rawlinson is right, an inceptive meaning of ἐγένοντο is suggested; if Godley, either *dwelt with* or *came to dwell with* will do. That Godley is right is pretty well proved by Thuc. ii. 15. 2—ἡ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη Athens became great since all were now (by this time) paying their taxes to it (enrolled in it). τελοῦσι ἐς Ἑλλήνας is, of course, *they are paying taxes to the Greeks, i. e., are enrolled among the Greeks, not they are being enrolled*. But the

matter is, perhaps, not quite so simple. In vi. 53 Herodotus says *τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέος . . . καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες· ἤδη γὰρ τηρικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον*. Shall we say here *as far back as Perseus the Dorian kings are correctly enumerated and proved to be of the Hellenic race, for already at that time they were enrolled among the Hellenes, or for then first (at length) they were paying taxes to (were enrolled among) the Hellenes?* Stein, who in ii. 51 has *die um jene Zeit schon zu den Hellenen gerechnet wurden*, here cites Dobree's *inter Graecos censeri coeperunt*; and Rawlinson, who in ii. 51 has *just as they were being enrolled*, here abandons that idea where there is more justification for it, and gives *even at this early time they ranked among that people*. I say there is more justification for *just then being enrolled* in vi. 53, because, Perseus being the first of the line to be classed as a Hellene, we get a satisfactory meaning whether we say *already then they were classed*, or *then at length they began to be classed*. This, then, is a special case; but normally it is easy enough to distinguish between *ἤδη τότε already at that time* and *τότε ἤδη then and not till then*. *ἤδη τότε πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἦν* (Xen. *Mem.* iv. 8. 1) is *Socrates at that time (the time of his trial) was already of an advanced age*; *ταῦτά μοι δείξον καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου* (Dem. 18. 193) is *prove that and then go on accusing me*. In the seventeen examples² of this latter use which I have noted the *τότε* refers to a preceding action (often introduced by an *after that*), the *ἤδη* goes with the principal verb and indicates that a new action now begins and goes on (the principal verb is usually pres. or imperf.). In all cases except Xen. *Mem.* ii. 9. 7 the *τότε* precedes the *ἤδη*, and there the *ἤδη τότε ὥσπερ ὅταν* shows that the variation is due to the desire to bring *τότε* and *ὅταν* together. In this example it is interesting, for comparison with Herodotean usage, to observe that the *ἤδη τότε*, on account of a long parenthesis, is resumed by *οὕτω δὲ*. Herodotus often has *οὕτω δὲ* or *ἐνθαῦτα δὲ* after a when-clause or participial phrase, but he never uses *τότε ἤδη* in the *then at length* sense. He has *ἤδη* frequently with a principal

² The examples are: Aesch. *Pr.* 911; Soph. *O. C.* 440; Thuc. i. 49. 7; Andoc. i. 9; Lys. i. 19; 12. 66; 25. 22; Xen. *Mem.* ii. 9. 7; Isoc. 12. 25, *Ep.* 6. 9; Plato, *Gorg.* 527 d; Aeschin. i. 23; Dem. 18. 193; 21. 54; 23. 25; 45. 9; 55. 10.

verb of an action *now* going on after a preceding one; but, if there is an additional adverb with the ἤδη it is ἐνθεῦτεν or τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου not τότε. Thus he says³ ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νείκος vii. 225. 7. If in vi. 53 Herodotus had wished to say *for from that time on they were reckoned as Hellenes*, he would have written ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἤδη ἐτέλεον not ἤδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα. He never has ἤδη τότε, but ἤδη with τηνικαῦτα occurs four times. τηνικαῦτα ἤδη is found in i. 165. 8 and vii. 224. 2, where the pluperfects differ from the type in note 2.

I take it, then, that *just as the Athenians were being admitted to rank as Hellenes* may be dismissed as an impossible meaning for ἤδη τηνικαῦτα τελέουσι, and with it any need of making ἐγένοντο σύνοικοι inceptive on that ground. The other disputed point concerns the subject of Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. It may be thought surprising that any other subject than *Pelasgians* has been suggested, but the question is whether it is these hypothetical Pelasgian settlers or the Hellenized Athenian Pelasgians. Ed. Meyer (p. 6) says that Herodotus added the ὅθενπερ clause *da er weiss, dass seine Theorie von dem Barbarenthum der Pelasger mit den gangbaren Ansichten in Widerspruch steht* (cp. p. 115). But Herodotus often states openly what the views of 'the Greeks' are when he does not agree with them; and, instead of dropping a casual remark such as Meyer assumes, it is likely that he would have mentioned the other view in i. 56 ff., where he discusses the language of the 'barbarian' Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were descended. Meyer's assertion that the Pelasgians were commonly viewed as Hellenes is easier to make than to prove. He himself admits (pp. 114 ff.) that Hecataeus and Hellanicus thought them barbarians, and Thucydides, while no certain conclusion can be drawn from i. 3, calls them barbarians in iv. 109. It should be remembered that these Pelasgians who are supposed to have settled in Attica and to have been thought Hellenes, are the ones that were expelled from Attica for violating Athenian women, settled in Lemnos, and there so conducted themselves that "it has become the custom throughout Greece

³ Cp. ii. 29. 4; iii. 5. 10; v. 98. 14; vi. 76. 5; vii. 129. 17; viii. 108. 25; ix. 102. 12 etc., both place and time. For ἤδη without additional adverb after a when-clause see ix. 62. 8; after ptc. v. 49. 41.

to call all atrocious deeds Lemnian"—*νεόμσται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Δῆμνια καλεῖσθαι* vi. 138. 25. Stein makes *the Athenians* the subject, and Stein's opinions on the interpretation of the text are always worthy to be weighed seriously. When one considers that in this very sentence Herodotus, with his *Ἀθηναίοισι ἤδη ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι*, shows that he is thinking of the transformation of the Pelasgian Athenians into Hellenes, one sees that the sentence ends naturally with a reference to the beginning of a recognition that the transformation is taking place. The sentence may be translated literally *Pelasgians lived in the country with the Athenians at a time when the Athenians were already classed as Hellenes; in fact that is just the reason, too, why they began to be classed as Hellenes*. By this Herodotus means that the presence in Attica of two different populations, one completely barbarian, the other beginning to speak Greek and adopt the customs of the Greeks, was the reason for the first recognition that the Athenians had graduated into a higher class. I do not think that I am pressing the argument too far when I say that the use of *ἤρξαντο* 'began to be thought' is more natural with the Athenians than with the Pelasgians as the subject, following as it does the reference to the *completion* of the process in *ἤδη τελέουσι*. Even the *καί* in *ὅθεν περ καί* has thus more point. The Athenians, says Herodotus, took the Hermes rites from Pelasgians that lived in the country; it was their presence, too, that first caused the Athenians to be recognized as Hellenes.

Since the subject of *ἤρξαντο* is *the Athenians*, *σύννοικοι ἐγένοντο* can not mean *came to dwell with them*. For, if the Athenians were already classed as Hellenes, the coming of the Pelasgians could not be the reason why they *began* to be so classed. If we add to this the fact that in i. 57 the phrase must mean *had lived with*, that this best suits its application to the Samothracians, and, finally, that Herodotus in ii. 51. 7 would not have said *came to dwell with* without an explanation, it may be taken as established that he meant simply *dwelt with*.

There is, then, in Herodotus not a word to suggest that he explained the presence of Pelasgians in Attica "at the time when the Athenians were already enrolled among the Hellenes" as due to their expulsion from Boeotia, or to 'raids', or because

they were brought in to build walls. The idea of "raids" is inconsistent with vi. 137. There would have been no question of the justice or injustice of the expulsion of an alien people that had invaded a country a generation or two before, and a people that was strong enough to invade and establish itself in a country could not be confined to what the inhabitants considered worthless land. From Herodotus' point of view there was no reason why there should not have been some of the original Pelasgian inhabitants in Attica at the time when the Athenians had become Hellenes, as well as in Boeotia. All Greece was once Pelasgian. He speaks of the Attic race as "splitting off from" the Pelasgian—ἀποσχισθέν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ i. 58; ἀπεκρίθη . . . τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνους τὸ Ἑλληνικόν i. 60—but why should the line of cleavage for him follow the bounds of Attica? Why should he have assumed that the remote mountainous districts were Hellenized at the same time as Athens and its environs? Myres thinks that Herodotus did not understand how barbarians were Hellenized. "Whereas", he says, "Herodotus rests content with a view of the process of Hellenization which . . . assumes a kind of spontaneous generation . . . Thucydides is conscious that τὸ Ἑλληνικόν had arisen by actual contact of 'Pelasgian' non-Hellenes with a body, however small, of genuine and actual Ἕλληνες who had the higher culture" (l. c., p. 206). Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, well acquainted with other Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor where barbarians were being Hellenized before his eyes, and Herodotus was a man of some intelligence. He understood as well as Thucydides that Hellenization came about by contact with Hellenes. He does not describe the process further than by saying that the Athenians exchanged their Pelasgian speech for Greek (i. 57. 13) and that they "separated from the barbarian nation because they were cleverer and more thoroughly rid of foolish simplicity" (i. 60. 12). Probably he recognized that ignorance was best got rid of by intercourse with those whose knowledge was greater. At any rate he was himself 'clever' enough to have observed, given all his opportunities, that one learned Greek by talking to Greeks, so that, when he wrote τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος . . . ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε, we must suppose that he was thinking of the ordinary process, and not that the Athenians acquired the Greek

language by a "kind of spontaneous generation." He tells us (viii. 73) that the Cynurians were "made Dorians by the Argives, to whom they were subject, and by time." If he understood the process in this case, why attribute to him ignorance of the process of Hellenization?

As for the wall-builder theory, I take it that when Ed. Meyer (*l. c.*, p. 6) wrote "*Sie (the Pelasgians) sind nach Attika gekommen, um den Athenern die Mauer um die Akropolis zu bauen, und haben zum Lohn dafür das Land am Fuss des Hymettos zum Wohnsitz erhalten,*" he thought that Herodotus had made that statement. But Herodotus nowhere says that Pelasgians came to Attica, and of the wall his actual words are *τὴν σφι αὐτοῖσι ἔδοσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένον* vi. 137. Such a way of putting it would never occur to a writer who thought of the reward being given to the very men who built the wall. Stein says "*κοτε ἐληλαμένου von jenen älteren Pelasgern, deren Name in ihrem Baue fortlebte. Dankbare Erinnerung . . . habe die Athener bewogen den flüchtigen Nachkommen zu vergelten was sie den Altvordern schuldeten.*" Except for the 'flüchtigen Nachkommen' that is right. The original inhabitants of Attica built the wall. Later, when most of the population was Hellenized, they gave the barbarian remnant land under Hymettus, "as a reward for the wall built long ago."

I have cited the words of i. 58—*τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν . . . ἀποσχισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ*—as meaning a 'split' of the *Attic* race from the Pelasgian. There is a belief that Herodotus is vague and confused as to the actual relationship of the Pelasgians to the Hellenes; cp. How and Wells (*Commentary on Herodotus*), i. pp. 80, 83, 444. Even Stein admits a lack of clearness in the language of his author. He takes *ἀποσχισθὲν locally*, while confessing that it properly indicates a close connection. See his notes on i. 57. 4; 58. 8; 60. 12. Thus he limits *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* in c. 58 to the Dorians on the basis of c. 56, and extends the term in i. 60 to Dorians and non-Dorians, though he thinks the use inconsistent with c. 56 and different from that in c. 58. Now I deny that there is any inconsistency in Herodotus' views on the relationship of the Pelasgians and Hellenes; he does not speak of many barbarian nations, particularly Pelasgians, joining the

Dorians; and I assert with confidence that τὸ Ἑλληνικόν in i. 58 refers to the converted Pelasgian Athenians and to them alone. Linguistic evidence and the thread of the argument that runs through cc. 56-68 unite to prove that c. 58 explains the rapid growth of the *Attic* race.

The statement in c. 56. 9 that the Athenians were *originally* a Pelasgian race, the Lacedaemonians an Hellenic—ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος—is directly contradicted in c. 58—τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν . . . ἀποσχισθέν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ—if this latter phrase means that the Hellenic *race* proper split off from the Pelasgians. The Athenians were but one remove from the Pelasgians. If the Hellenes proper were also but one remove, the distinction between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians could not be called an *original* one. The Lacedaemonians would also be *originally* Pelasgians, if carried a little farther back. It would not be improbable that Herodotus in different parts of his work, written probably at different times, should so contradict himself; within a few lines it is improbable. Stein tries to get around the difficulty by saying that ἀποσχισθέν has a *local* meaning. But this is far from convincing. ἀποσχισθέν and ἀπεκρίθη in c. 60 are properly used of a part separated from a whole, and that interpretation is to be preferred, if it is possible. In view of the close connection of the Pisistratus story, cc. 59-64, with Croesus (59. 2; 65. 2), it forms a part of the narrative begun in c. 53 concerning the oracle's answer to Croesus that he should form an alliance with the most powerful of the Greeks. Therefore ἀπεκρίθη τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν in 60. 12 does not mean *the Greeks had been distinguished from the barbarians*.⁴

⁴ While τὸ Ἑλληνικόν in c. 58 is restricted by the context to the *Attic* race Herodotus in c. 60 might have been thinking also of the other Greeks, such as the Arcadians and Aeolians, whom he held to be of Pelasgic origin. Professor Shorey discussed this passage in *C. P.* xv. 88. That he had not read cc. 56-8, is evident from his remark that he could not conceive what How and Wells meant by their note "ἐπεὶ γε is to be taken closely with τότε γε, at that time when the Greek race had long been separated." How and Wells took their note from Stein, who on ἀπεκρίθη refers to ἀποσχισθέν in c. 58. Shorey's "the Greeks had from of old been distinguished from the barbarians as cleverer and more free from that kind of foolish simple-mindedness" overlooks the fact that Herodotus has just told us that the Athenians split off from the Pelasgians, and had that here in mind. Τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος is the Pelasgian race and not

It is but a repetition of the τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν . . . ἀποσχισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ of c. 58. But ἀπεκρίθη in c. 60 certainly has no local meaning; though Stein on ἀπεκρίθη refers to his note on ἀποσχισθὲν. In that context the idea would be absurd. Therefore ἀποσχισθὲν does not refer to local separation. Even in c. 58 local separation is unsatisfactory. How and where did the Hellenes get away from the Pelasgians? Certainly not by going to the Peloponnesus (56.17), which was then swarming with Pelasgians (ii.171). And if, as most editors do, we accept Πελασγῶν for the MS πολλῶν in 58.5, we get, with a local ἀποσχισθὲν the idea that the Pelasgians *particularly* (μάλιστα) united themselves with the Hellenes after the Hellenes moved away from them. Again, it is a natural conception that the Attic race should be small and weak when it split off from the Pelasgians and then increase to great numbers by accessions from other barbarian peoples.

But, if ἀποσχισθὲν is not local in meaning, then τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν . . . ἀποσχισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ contradicts the distinction made in 56.9 between Pelasgians and Hellenes, unless τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν in c. 58 is limited by the context to a narrower meaning than *the Hellenic race*. τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν may have a much wider range than

the barbarians, any more than τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν is here *the Greeks*. I will not assert that such a use of ἔθνος as Pindar's ἔθνος θνατόν should not be attributed to Herodotus, but I have yet to find an example where he does not apply ἔθνος to a particular *nation*. Certainly there is no ground for assuming that τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος is not here *the particular barbarian nation*, the Pelasgians. Herodotus uses βαρβάρου instead of Πελασγικοῦ because of his point that silliness may be expected in a barbarian race. The sentence is not even slightly anacoluthic. The ἐπεὶ clause is subordinate to the εἰ clause, and was so intended from the first, as the contrast between ἐκ παλαιτέρου and καὶ τότε shows. Shorey's *had from of old been distinguished* should be expressed by a pluperfect. The meaning of the sentence is: It was a very foolish plan, seeing that in earlier times the Hellenic element had parted from the barbarian race (the Pelasgians) because it was more intelligent and more completely rid of foolish simplicity, that even at this late date they planned. Shorey says: "Herodotus is not thinking of the history of rationalism. . . . The colorless use of ἀπηλλαγμένον is not to be pressed to yield a generalized description of a historical process"; but it is clear that Herodotus did think that some Pelasgians, by contact with actual Hellenes, not only learned to speak the Greek language but also got rid of the simplicity that belonged to their barbarian state.

the Hellenic race—the relation of *das Deutschtum* to *die Deutschen* might be compared—it may also be as narrow as the context demands. Xenophon in the *Anabasis* often uses it of the Ten Thousand, though a *στράτευμα* or *στρατόπεδον* may not be in the immediate context. Therefore, in a passage that is dealing with the *Athenians*, after they had become Hellenes, as contrasted with the Pelasgians, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν may be restricted in meaning to the Athenians.⁵

At this point it will be helpful to give a summary of cc. 53-69, indicating the arrangement of the matter and the points on which Herodotus lays stress. The oracles of Delphi and of Amphiaraus had advised Croesus, if he took the field against the Persians, to find the most powerful of the Hellenes and make an alliance with them. On inquiry he found the Lacedaemonians and Athenians to be foremost, the former an Hellenic race, the latter, Pelasgian; the latter had never moved, the former had wandered much (c. 56. 1-11). In the remainder of c. 56 we are told the stages by which the Lacedaemonians moved from Phthiotis to the Peloponnesus. The Lacedaemonians are then dropped, to be taken up again in cc. 65-8 where a description is given of their early troubles and final triumph under the laws of Lycurgus. By the time of Croesus they had subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus. Cc. 57-64 deal with the Athenians, 59-64 with the establishment of the Pisistratid tyranny, 57-8 with primitive times. The arrangement thus is (a) early Lacedaemonian, (b) early Athenian, (c) later Athenian, (d) later Lacedaemonian. This symmetrical arrangement is disturbed if c. 58 deals with the Hellenes in general, not with the Athenians. In that case we have a digression on the increase of the Hellenic race, with which we are not concerned, whereas we should be told of the increase in power of the Athenians prior to the time of internal strife (δυσπασμένον c. 59. 2) described in cc. 59-64. According to the accepted interpretation of c. 58 the only statement made about the Athenians before Pisistratus is that they must have changed their language when they were

⁵ For the widest meaning see i. 4; vii. 145; viii. 144. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that Herodotus never has τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος (τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος in i. 56. 10 is "the other *an* Hellenic race") though τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένους occurs in i. 143. 6. Thucydides, Isocrates, and Demosthenes also do not use τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος.

received into the Hellenic family (c. 57). Now the opening words of c. 59—τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν (the contrast is τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους c. 65. 2)—imply that the Athenians and Lacedaemonians have continued to be the subject from c. 56. The two nations last spoken of, as c. 58 is usually translated, are the Hellenes and Pelasgians. Just as this δὴ ὧν in c. 59. 1 brings together cc. 56-58, so in the καὶ γάρ of the sentence at the end of c. 57, we have a proof that the statement immediately preceding καὶ γάρ should be closely connected with the opening words of c. 58. καὶ γάρ constantly introduces a remark that is practically parenthetical. What follows returns to the thought of what precedes, as in ἐγὼ δ' ἐσκέφθαι μὲν . . . φημί—καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄθλιος ἦν, εἰ . . . ἡμέλουν ὧν . . . ἐρεῖν ἔμελλον—γεγραφέναι μέντοι μοι τὸν λόγον Μειδίαν Dem. 21. 191; cp. Plato, *Apol.* 30 C. If we omit the καὶ γάρ sentence in c. 57 and place together what it has separated, the thought which Herodotus was expressing becomes at once apparent. τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, he says, ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, . . . ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς . . . αὐξήται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων κτλ. Which means, "The Attic race, which was Pelasgian, at the same time as it became Hellenic changed its language too. And, while the Hellenic element, ever since it made the change, has continued to use the same language, it has, though weak when it split off from that which was Pelasgian, increased to a great number of nations* by accessions from other barbarian races." The γλῶσση μὲν picks up the preceding γλῶσσαν, just as the ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο goes back to τῇ μεταβολῇ. In fact I venture to assert that, if Herodotus had wished to say that Hellenes never adopted another language though Pelasgians did, it would have been more natural for him to have said it without the addition of ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο *ever since there have been Hellenes*; the ἐπέιτε ἐγένετο was suggested by the preceding statement that the Athenians had become Hellenic. The ἀποσχισθὲν also follows naturally the mention of the Athenian Pelasgians changing to Hellenes, while it only makes trouble if applied to the Hellenic race as a whole. Thus numerous expressions in cc. 57-58 as well as the general argument prove that the Athe-

* For many ἔθνη in the Ionic ἔθνος see Thuc. vii. 67 etc.

nians alone are in mind. Further, there is no indication in Herodotus that he thought of Dorians receiving accessions from barbarian races, apart from the case of the Kynurians (viii. 73), while the Ionic-Attic race is a mixture (*ἀναμειχῆται* i. 146) containing among others Minyans, Kadmeans, Pelasgians, Kaukonians. The same idea of the increase of the population of Attica in primitive times is expressed by Thucydides i. 2, though he does not say the accessions were from barbarous nations. Indeed we may suppose that Isocrates wrote iv. 24 as a protest against the view that the Athenians were a mixture of many nations and had expelled Pelasgians.

Ed. Meyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 6 ff.) represents Herodotus' views on the Pelasgians in the following way: The ancestors of the Athenians were Pelasgians. "*In weit späterer Zeit als die Athener 'schon zu den Hellenen zählten', haben sich, so berichtet Herodot(?), bei ihnen Pelasger angesiedelt. Sie sind nach Attika gekommen, um den Athenern die Mauer um die Akropolis zu bauen (?), und haben zum Lohn dafür das Land am Fuss des Hymettos zum Wohnsitz erhalten.*" On this he comments thus: "Die Erzählung von den Pelasgern in Attika gehört weder dem einheimischen Sagenbestande an, noch dem was die älteren Dichter als attische Urgeschichte erzählten. Weder in der genealogischen Poesie ist von ihnen die Rede, noch im attischen Drama, noch in der traditionellen Stadtgeschichte, auf der Thuk. ii. 15 fusst. . . . Zum Wesen einer ächten Sage gehören durchaus und in erster Linie Persönlichkeiten: in der Pelasgererzählung begegnet uns kein einziger Name. Der Ursprung der Burgmauer gehört nothwendig in die Geschichte von der Gründung und Entwicklung der Stadt. Wäre die Erzählung von dem Mauerbau der Pelasger ächt, so müsste sie unter einen der Stadtgründenden Könige gesetzt werden. . . . Statt dessen hinkt sie kläglich nach, nachdem alles vorbei ist; nach den Thaten des Kekrops Erechtheus kommen die Pelasger, unter welchem Herrscher wissen wir nicht."

Meyer, then, rejects Herodotus' story, because the building of the Pelasgian wall is put by him after Theseus, whereas if the tradition was sound, the wall must have belonged to the earliest period of the city. Now, quite apart from the question of a late Pelasgian settlement in Attica, the standard German commentary on Herodotus, as well as the standard English

translations, while accepting these late settlers, do not understand Herodotus to say the wall was built by them. No one who knows Greek would seriously maintain that Meyer's interpretation of what Herodotus says about the wall is even a probable, not to say the only possible meaning. Meyer holds that, if the *Sage* were "*echt*", the wall must have been built in the earliest days before "Kekrops, Erechtheus, Theseus." There is nothing in Herodotus to suggest that he did not think the wall earlier than Cecrops. Nothing he says about the Pelasgians can be dated except their expulsion. Attempts have been made to get other dates from Strabo's Boeotian origin of the Attic Pelasgians, or from "the time when the Athenians were already classed as Hellenes" (i. e. a time not before Ion); but I have proved that Herodotus does not speak of a late Pelasgian settlement in Attica. For him the Pelasgians expelled to Lemnos were a remnant of the original Pelasgian inhabitants. Thucydides (iv. 109) accepts the Pelasgians that "once occupied Lemnos and Athens", giving no date. What he says in ii. 15 of the early history of Athens deals with times after Cecrops. Therefore not a word in Herodotus about the Pelasgians in Attica is contradicted by Thucydides. As for the Attic drama, Aeschylus in the *Suppliants* makes Pelasgus of Argos king of a much greater realm than the later Hellas, so that his γένος Πελασγῶν must have occupied Attica as well as the Peloponnesus, a view that corresponds to Herodotus ii. 51 ff. The Pelasgian origin of the Athenians, Arcadians, and Aeolians is, so far as we know, mere theory. Meyer asserts (p. 3) that discussing the views of Herodotus will not solve the Pelasgian question; but he then proceeds to discuss and draw conclusions from these views. What I am objecting to is his method of rejecting the Athens-Lemnos Pelasgians, who are vouched for by Thucydides as well as Herodotus. He does it by constructing a narrative which is not in Herodotus and then asserting that it cannot be sound tradition. His conclusion has been accepted on the authority of his name without examination of the statements on which it is based.

Myres takes Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι in all three cases to mean *Pelasgians came to dwell with the Athenians*. Not content with Herodotus' restriction of the phrase to Placia and Samothrace, Myres ventures on such inferences as this:

"The Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros were also concerned in early raids on Attica: for the 'Pelasgians under Hymettus' made Lemnos among other places, their retreat." The objections to such a view are evident. One of the strong arguments for the meaning *who had lived with the Athenians* as applied to Placia and Samothrace is the way it fits in with Herodotus' statement that Pelasgians driven from Athens occupied Lemnos and other places. That fugitives from Attica should scatter to different places is easy to understand; but why should Pelasgians in Placia, Samothrace, and Lemnos make either concerted or separate raids on Attica? Myres has an ingenious way of getting round this difficulty. He places the Pelasgians of Homer on the European side of the Hellespont—on insufficient grounds. He *assumes* that the Pelasgian occupation of Placia and Scylace resulted from a post-Homeric movement, and adds "a similar raid, by some of these same Pelasgians, reached as far as Attica" (p. 192). Now, if our phrase in i. 57 as applied to Placia, means *came and dwelt with the Athenians*, there is not the slightest ground for assuming that it was *some of these same Pelasgians* that went to Athens and not the Placieni themselves. Again Myres says (p. 202): "Attica was invaded by quite a different sort of Pelasgians, of the Hellespontine variety who survived at Placie, Scylace, Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace. His repeated phrase οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι can hardly mean anything else than that this Hellespontine type of Pelasgians is the source of the invaders of Attica." It is obvious that if Herodotus had wanted to convey that idea he would have done so in simple language. The only Pelasgian raid on Attica which he mentions is that on Brauron (vi. 138; iv. 145).

Myres divides Herodotus' Pelasgian material into what concerns (a) 'actual' Pelasgians, in Placia and Scylace, Lemnos and Imbros, Samothrace, Antandrus, and Creston, (b) 'theoretical' Pelasgians, the ancestors of the Athenians, Arcadians, and Aeolians, the inhabitants of the land called Pelasgia once, Hellas later, (c) the Athens-Lemnos group. From group (a) Antandrus and Samothrace should be eliminated. Herodotus calls Antandrus τὴν Πελασγίδα vii. 42; there is nothing more. He does not refer to Antandrus in discussing the living Pelasgian language in i. 57, nor to Samothrace. The Samothracian Pelasgians are 'theoretical' if that term is to be applied to

those whom he does not vouch for existing in or about his own time. No date can be derived from τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρίκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρίκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι ii. 51.

After citing the passages that refer to 'actual' Pelasgians Myres says (p. 197), "So far as we have gone, all the Herodotean evidence goes straight back to the denotative usage in Homer, which makes the Pelasgians a specific North Aegean people. Only, for Herodotus, instead of being located on the mainland . . . , they are projected into the North Aegean islands, and onto the Hellespontine shore of Asia: exactly as the known stresses of the post-Homeric age would have led us to guess would be the case. These 'actual' Pelasgians of Herodotus, moreover, retained still in his time a linguistic character which marks them as having issued, at an earlier stage still, from a centre of dispersal sufficiently far back in the Thracian mainland to permit similar projection of one band of them into the basin of the Strymon. . . . Whether all this observation was accurately made, is beside the question here, and is not conclusively proved even by its consistency within itself. All that we are concerned with, here, is that such observations were not only possible in the time of Herodotus, but are recorded by him as having been made."

The truth of this statement depends upon what the writer meant by "all the Herodotean evidence." When Herodotus says that there were Pelasgians in Placia, Scylace, and Creston in his own time, in Lemnos and Imbros shortly before his own time, we may accept it as truth, and assert that 'Herodotean evidence' supports a theory that the Pelasgians were originally a North Aegean people. We may reject all that Herodotus says of the origin of the Pelasgians in these places because the time at which he puts the migration to them is so remote that we must doubt the accuracy of his information. Myres seems to me to include in 'all the Herodotean evidence' those parts of what Herodotus says of Pelasgian origins which he thinks can be so interpreted as to support his North Aegean hypothesis, and to pass over the rest in silence. Let us take these 'actual' Pelasgians in Placia and Scylace, Creston, Lemnos, and Imbros, and see what Herodotus says of their origin. Of those in Imbros nothing (v. 26). It is plausibly inferred that Imbros is one of

the 'other places' besides Lemnos occupied by the fugitives from Attica; but that is mere inference. I have proved above that the Pelasgians in Placia and Scylace came from Athens according to Herodotus. Myres stands alone in his interpretation. In the case of Lemnos there is not the slightest doubt. The only Pelasgians there of whom Herodotus knows came from Attica. Those that raided Brauron were the ones previously driven out of Attica (vi. 137-8), and those that raided Brauron were the ones that drove the Minyans from Lemnos (iv. 145). τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργεῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες (iv. 145. 5) can not be pressed to mean the *grandsons* of the Argonauts. Myres (pp. 192-3, 202) leaves the impression that there is Herodotean evidence for Pelasgians in Lemnos before the expulsion from Attica. His handling of the Crestoniatae is peculiar, to say the least. Herodotus says of them οἱ ὄμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλομένοισι, οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλομένην. Though he discusses the Crestoniatae at length (pp. 195-7), Myres does not even mention this statement. It is evident that he gave it some impossible interpretation of his own, for he says (p. 198) "*In Thessaly*, though Herodotus does not state that there were Pelasgians there." Herodotus, like Homer and Thucydides (i. 3) thought that Pelasgians once lived in Thessaly, and "all the Herodotean evidence" for what he believed to be the original home of 'actual' Pelasgians makes of them, not a North-Aegean people, but a people of Greece.

A. G. LAIRD.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

QUIRINIUS AND THE CENSUS OF JUDAEA.*

[This paper brings together the evidence for the reliability of Luke's account (2, 1-5) of the census of Judaea. It provides further support for Groag's contention that there is no adequate reason for the assumption that Quirinius governed Syria twice. Luke is probably mistaken in naming Quirinius as the governor of Syria, but he may be right in his account of a census of Judaea for which everyone was commanded to go to his own city.]

Luke explains the birth of Jesus in the city of David by the statement that, as a result of a command of Caesar Augustus that all the world be enrolled, everyone had gone to his own city. Hence Joseph with Mary his pregnant wife went up from Galilee to Bethlehem in Judaea. Luke further says that the census took place when Quirinius was governing Syria.¹ The statement of the evangelist has led classical and New Testament scholars, interested in the credibility of Luke's account, to study the career of the only important Augustan official who bore that name, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, consul in 12 B. C. Groag in a recent discussion of Quirinius has shown reason to doubt some of the generally accepted views about his career.² It is the purpose of this paper to consider whether Quirinius could have

* My interest in this subject grew out of a suggestion of Professor Kirsopp Lake. I have discussed a number of the questions involved in it with him and with Professors H. J. Cadbury and T. R. S. Broughton. For the geographical problems associated with Quirinius' greatest military exploit, the conquest of the Homonadeis, I am fortunate in being able to refer to Professor Broughton's paper, pp. 134 ff. of this journal. I have not attempted to make full citations of the enormous bibliography on any detail except the career of Quirinius. The earlier bibliography is fully given by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I⁴, 508 ff. For a brief recent discussion see J. M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1930), pp. 28 ff.

¹ Luke 2, 1-5. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέτ, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰς πόλιν Δαβὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλεὲμ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαβὶδ, ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαρίας τῇ μεμνηστευμένῃ αὐτοῦ γυναικί, οὕσῃ ἐγκύῳ.

² S. v. Sulpicius (90), *R. E.* 2nd Series, IV, 1, 822-843. The volume appeared in 1931.

been governor of Syria at the time to which Luke refers and whether the details which Luke gives about the conduct of the census are worthy of credence.

Quirinius was governor of Syria in the year 6 A. D. and at that time conducted a census both in Syria and in Judaea which was then being organized into a Roman procuratorial province.³ The census was bitterly opposed by a large group of Jews who, under the leadership of the zealot Judas, refused to register. The opposition resulted in a considerable revolt which was well remembered in later times. Luke himself refers to it in Gamaliel's speech in Acts 5, 37: *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*. It is impossible to identify with this famous census the enrolment described in the gospel of Luke, for Luke agrees with Matthew in placing the birth of Jesus before the death of Herod the Great which took place in 4 B. C. In the account of the birth of Jesus we must suppose either that there is complete confusion in Luke's account or that Luke or his copyist inserted Quirinius' name through an error or finally that there had previously been a census of Judaea at a time when Quirinius was serving an earlier term as governor of Syria.

Although there is no proof of an earlier census, there is some evidence which has been taken to indicate that Quirinius was governor of Syria before 6 A. D. He was commander in a war against the Homonadeis, a tribe who dwelt in the Taurus above Cilicia and Pamphylia, and he succeeded in conquering them completely. For such a war he must have required legionary troops, and Syria, the Asiatic province where such troops were permanently stationed, would have been a natural place to secure them. Hence it has been suggested that he undertook the war as *legatus* of Syria and that he held the governorship of the province twice. The name of Quirinius has been restored in a fragmentary inscription from Tivoli which records the career of a man who was apparently twice governor of Syria and Phoenicia.⁴ Quirinius' career suits the inscription exceedingly

³ Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 13, 5; XVIII, 1, 1-2; 2, 1; XX, 5, 2; *Bell.*, II, 17, 8; VII, 8, 1. For his activity in Syria see *C. I. L.*, III, 6687 (Dessau, *I. L. S.* 2683).

⁴ *C. I. L.*, XIV, 3613 (Dessau, 918). The suggestion to restore Quirinius' name in the inscription was first made by San Clemente, *De vul-*

well for, like the official of that document, he was active under Augustus, and attained the *insignia* of triumph, and died after the death of Augustus. Since the appearance of Mommsen's discussion of this inscription, most scholars have held that Quirinius' earlier governorship of Syria was practically proved.⁵ Lately however Groag has shown convincing reason to doubt the usual interpretation of the inscription and to question the restoration of Quirinius' name in it.⁶ He has moreover argued that in the command against the Homonadeis Quirinius may have been serving in some other capacity than as governor of Syria.

Since the evidence for Quirinius' first governorship of Syria must rest not on the restored inscription but on his well attested command against the Homonadeis, it is necessary to consider first of all the capacity in which Quirinius could have undertaken the war. The most important source for Quirinius' career is found in Tacitus' report (*Ann.*, III, 48) of the speech which Tiberius made in the senate at the time of Quirinius' death in 21 A. D.: *Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus datusque rector G. Caesari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat.* For the early career of Quirinius we have also the statement of Florus (2, 31) which records his conquest of the Marmaridae and the Garamantes, which Mommsen suggests he may have carried out as pro-consul of Crete and Cyrene. For his subsequent career there are the accounts of the census of 6 A. D. given by Josephus. In addition Quirinius' name is known from several

garis aerae emendatione, Rome, 1793, 414 ff., and was upheld by Borghesi. Mommsen supported it in a detailed discussion in the second edition of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, pp. 161-178.

⁵ Quirinius' first governorship appears with the dates favored by Mommsen, 3-2 B. C., in E. Honigmann's article Syria, *R. E.* col. 1629 (1932).

⁶ *Jahreshefte, Beiblatt*, XXII (1924), 445 ff. (See also Dessau, *Römische Kaiserzeit*, II, 2, 612, n. 4.) Groag would restore the name of M. Plautius Silvanus in the inscription. I would suggest M. Titius.

inscriptions, two of which, recently found at Antioch in Pisidia, show that he was honorary *duumvir* of the colony.⁷

For Quirinius' command against the Homonadeis we can supplement Tacitus' account by some details from Strabo⁸ and by facts that have come to light from recently discovered inscriptions. The Homonadeis revolted against the Galatian king Amyntas and slew him in 25 A. D. For some years apparently their revolt against an ally and friend of the Roman people remained unavenged but eventually Quirinius was despatched against them and succeeded in bringing them into complete subjection, sending four thousand men under the yoke and removing the population from the mountain fastnesses into the plain below. If we can depend upon Tacitus' account—which probably has the *acta senatus* as its source—the date of Quirinius' victory can be placed between his consulship in 12 B. C. and his activity as *rector* of Gaius Caesar who was in the east from 1 B. C. until his death in 4 A. D. It has been more closely dated since the appearance of Mommsen's discussion by the discovery of milestones of the Via Sebaste which show that the road was built not later than 6 B. C.⁹ This road, which passed close to the territory of the Homonadeis, could hardly have been constructed before the mountain tribe was fully conquered. We must therefore date Quirinius' command between 12 and 6 B. C.

If it was as *legatus* of Syria that Quirinius commanded the troops in the war, there is an immediate difficulty now that the date of the war seems to be more closely fixed. Normally the *legatus* of an imperial province served at least three years¹⁰

⁷ Dessau 9502-3. It is impossible to decide whether Quirinius held the office soon after the Homonadensian war as Ramsay argued (*J. R. S.*, VII, 1917, 242 ff. Cf. also Cheesman, *J. R. S.*, III, 1913, 253 ff.) or when he was in the east with Gaius Caesar, as Dessau held (*Klio*, XVII, 1921, 252 ff.).

⁸ XII, 6, 5, p. 569.

⁹ *C. I. L.*, III, 6974; cf. 12217, 14185, 14401. On the interpretation of the inscriptions see Ramsay and Cheesman, *l. c.* Against their assumption that the construction of the road can be used to date the war see Torr, *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1920), 154-6.

¹⁰ The most specific ancient statement on length of tenure for provincial commands is Maecenas' recommendation reported by Dio, LII, 23, 2, that they function not less than three or more than five years, but the evidence that we have tends to show rather that the maximum

B.C. ?

and it so happens that we already have the names of three *legati* of Syria who are well attested for the years 12 to 6 B. C. They are M. Titius who was there at some time between 12 and 10, C. Sentius Saturninus who was there in 8 B. C., and P. Quirinius Varus who went to Syria in 6 B. C.¹¹ If Quirinius served during this period, at least two of the *legati* must have had a period of service of not more than two years. Even the most determined advocate of the trustworthiness of Luke, Sir William Ramsay,¹² has been troubled by the difficulties and has come to the conclusion that at the time of the war there were two *legati* of Syria, Quirinius to take charge of the war, and Saturninus, to whom Ramsay would assign the internal administration of the province. But why, in that case, one may ask, does not Luke mention Saturninus rather than Quirinius? There is moreover no parallel in Roman provincial organization for such a division of authority among two provincial legates, and it seems contrary to the principles of Augustus' provincial system.¹³

There is less reason than is commonly supposed to assume that the territory of the Homonadeis was included in the sphere of operations of the *legatus* of Syria.¹⁴ From the time of Antony's power until the reign of Vespasian the old province of Cilicia seems not to have existed. Most of it was parcelled

was exceeded than that the minimum was not reached. See Premerstein, s. v. *legati*, *R. E.*, 1146.

¹¹ For the evidence see Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 166. The discovery of the milestones of the Via Sebaste has led most scholars to an earlier date for Quirinius' first governorship than 3-2 B. C. which was suggested by Mommsen. Blackman, *Klio*, XVII, 104 ff., favors 11-10 B. C.

¹² Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem, A Study on the Credibility of Luke*, 1898; for his later views altered in details by subsequent discoveries of inscriptions see *J. R. S.*, VII (1917) 229-283, and *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (1920), 283 ff.

¹³ The inscription from the senatorial province of Africa (*C. I. L.*, VIII, 25967) cited by Ramsay is not a genuine parallel for the division of authority in an imperial province like Syria. It shows two *legati*, one of whom is the regular commander of the African legion, acting as commissioners to mark the old boundaries of the province.

¹⁴ Against the assumption that Cilicia Pedias was under the *legatus* of Syria see Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province*, *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, V (1930), 50-52.

out by Antony to client kings, chief among whom was Amyntas of Galatia. Even Augustus preferred to have the mountainous and almost impassable coast of Cilicia Tracheia ruled by local dynasts rather than by *legati*.¹⁵ The only cases where *legati* of Syria are known to have been active in the region are explained by special conditions. When Piso, who went as *legatus* to Syria in 17 A. D., after abandoning his province because of his difficulties with Germanicus, heard of the death of Germanicus, he decided to return to Syria, but before doing so he sent word to the Cilician chieftains asking them to help him with auxiliaries (Tac. *Ann.*, II, 75 ff.). He occupied the coast town of Celenderis in the more accessible part of Cilicia Tracheia and was successfully besieged there by Sentius, the *legatus* who had assumed control of Syria after the death of Germanicus. Piso's message to the Cilician chieftains, his occupation of Celenderis, and Sentius' siege of him there have been taken as indications that Cilicia was in the sphere of the *legatus* of Syria.¹⁶ But since this was virtually an occasion of civil war, it is unsafe to base conclusions on the operations of the period. As a matter of fact there is in Tacitus' earlier account (*Ann.*, II, 58) of the difficulties between Germanicus and Piso an indication that even Cilicia Pedias, which adjoined Syria and was easy to reach from it, was beyond the jurisdiction of Piso. Vonones, the claimant to the Parthian throne, was in Syria where he had ingratiated himself with Piso, and the Parthian king protested against his retention there. Germanicus, in response to the complaint, sent Vonones to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia Pedias which was presumably beyond Piso's province. Later in the reign of Tiberius, Vitellius, *legatus* of Syria, sent troops to the Clitae, a people of Cilicia Tracheia who opposed a census (Tac. *Ann.*, VI, 41). From this event no conclusion as to the scope of the Syrian legate's jurisdiction can be drawn, for Vitellius not only commanded in his own province of Syria but had *imperium maius* in the east (*Ann.*, VI, 32). The only real

¹⁵ Strabo XIV, 5, 6 (p. 671) εὐφυοὺς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν . . . ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἳ μὴτ' αἰεὶ παρῆναι ἔμελλον μήτε μεθ' ὀπλων.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ann.*, III, 12, armis repetita provincia. See also III, 14 and 16.

indication of a closer union between Syria and Cilicia is given by a record of a *κοινόν* of Syrians, Phoenicians, and Cilicians which dates from the Domitianic period or later.¹⁷ But the Cilicians who gathered at Antioch with Syrians and Phoenicians in a league assembly could hardly have come from the inaccessible regions of the Homonadeis. They must have been inhabitants of the flat coast of Cilicia Pedias which adjoined Syria.

There are several other capacities in which Quirinius may have acted in the war. He may have held a special command created for the war which perhaps seemed important enough to call for the services of a tried general of consular rank. But he may also have been *legatus* of Galatia or Pamphylia or proconsul of Asia.¹⁸

As Professor Broughton's paper shows, it was from the north that the territory of the Homonadeis could best be reached, though the approach through Pamphylia which followed the line of Servilius Isauricus' campaigns was also possible. If the army took the easier approach from the north, the commanding officer must have operated in Galatia, the province formed from the kingdom which Amyntas willed to the Romans at his death in 25. Galatia was organized as an imperial province governed by *legati* who were of praetorian rank.¹⁹ There were no regular legions stationed in the province, the only troops being auxiliaries. Quirinius, as an ex-consular, would not, according to the usual arrangement, have been sent to Galatia. In the years when Agrippa, as Augustus' colleague in power, was in the east there seem to have been no provincial legates, even in Syria where the chief army was stationed. But it is

¹⁷ *I. G. R.*, 1, 445, *κοινὸν Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινίκης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*. The inscription is cited by Anderson in his review of Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, *Class. Rev.*, XLV (1931), p. 190.

¹⁸ Groag thinks Quirinius served either as a special commander or as proconsul of Asia; Dessau, *Römische Kaiserzeit*, II, 2, 612, n. 4, suggested that he was *legatus* of Pamphylia.

¹⁹ The first governor of Galatia, M. Lollius, who began his term immediately after the formation of the province in 25, was of praetorian rank. Cf. Groag, s. v. Lollius (11), *R. E.* On the status of the Galatian *legati* later see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, I, p. 361, n. 1.

possible that a man of the rank and experience of Quirinius was chosen for the province and the war and provided with a legion after the death of Agrippa removed the strong hand of the general who had been in charge of operations in the east for a number of years.²⁰

If the Homonadeis were attacked from the south, troops would naturally have approached not from the inaccessible coast of Cilicia Tracheia but from Pamphylia where they would have come either by sea or overland from Asia. Professor Broughton has discussed the status of Pamphylia at this time and the command held by L. Calpurnius Piso who is said to have been in charge of it in 13 B. C. It is uncertain whether Pamphylia was an independent province or was combined, as it apparently was after Pharsalus, with Asia. Piso, an experienced general of consular rank, was apparently serving as a *legatus* of Agrippa. He was perhaps sent to Pamphylia to undertake the war against the Homonadeis, but recalled because of the greater danger that threatened in the Chersonese. Quirinius, another experienced general, may have been a special consular legate despatched to Galatia, or, like Piso not long before, to Pamphylia, his object in either case being the conquest of the Homonadeis.

It is also possible that Quirinius fought the war as proconsul of Asia, the only eastern province besides Syria which was regularly assigned to a *consularis*. This is a suggestion of Groag, and there is some evidence in its favor which has not come to his notice. An inscription from Attaleia gives a series of dates in the Roman and Pamphylian calendar. Kubitschek²¹ has shown that the Pamphylian dates are calculated from the same New Year's Day (September 23, Augustus' birthday) as the calendar instituted in Asia in 9-8 B. C. by the proconsul Paulus Fabius Maximus. An obvious explanation of the identity of calendar would be that Pamphylia, before its organization with Lycia into a separate province, was governed with the prov-

²⁰ As a parallel for such an arrangement one may cite the case of Pliny, a *consularis* who was sent by Trajan as *legatus Augusti pro praetore consulari potestate* to Pontus and Bithynia, a senatorial province regularly assigned to *praetorii*.

²¹ *Jahreshefte*, VIII (1905), p. 108. For the inscription see also *I. G. R.*, III, 785.

ince of Asia. The lack of evidence for governors of Pamphylia in the period makes it not impossible that such was its status at the time of the conquest of the Homonadeis. If that was the case, we should have a restoration at some time after Amyntas' death of the union of Asia and Pamphylia which was in existence after Pharsalus.

The difficulty in accepting the suggestion that Quirinius was proconsul of Asia lies not in the geographical association of the two regions but in the use of a proconsul to command an army. Yet the strict separation of proconsuls and armies which we find at a later period had not been fully carried through in the reign of Augustus. The legion regularly stationed in Africa was under the command of the proconsuls until a special *legatus* was sent out under Caligula to command it.²² In Macedonia the proconsul, an official usually of praetorian rank, waged a number of wars under Augustus. In Illyricum the proconsul P. Silius had to put down an uprising of the Camunni and Vennii.²³ Asia which like Africa regularly had a governor of consular rank may have had a legion in it which the proconsul commanded in the Augustan period.²⁴

Yet the fact remains that though the general in such a war may have held some other office, he may also have been commander of the chief legionary forces of the east, *legatus* of Syria. But here there are two difficulties, first that the list of governors of Syria for the period of the war appears, as we have seen, to be already complete, and second, that Josephus, who makes a statement about Quirinius' experience in his account

²² Tac. *Hist.*, IV, 48: Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub divo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli parebant. Mox G. Caesar turbidus animi ac Marcum Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit.

²³ For a list of proconsuls commanding armies see Premerstein, *Jahreshefte*, I (1898), *Beiblatt*, 154; VII (1904), 224; Groag, *Jahreshefte*, *Beiblatt*, XXII (1924), 450 and 460. Quirinius was himself perhaps fighting as proconsul against the Marmaridae and Garamantes.

²⁴ It is worth noting that it is uncertain where the legio XII Fulminata (mentioned in inscriptions of Pisidian Antioch) was stationed in the Augustan period. Later it was in Syria. See Ritterling s. v. legio, *R. E.*, 1705 ff.

of the census of 6 A. D., says nothing of his previous connection either with Syria or with the taking of the census. Josephus' fullest account (*Ant.*, XVIII, 1, 1) reads: Κυρήνιος δέ, τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ, τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος. The omission of any reference to an earlier governorship here is hard to explain on any other supposition than that it had not occurred.

Now it happens that in Christian sources there is not entire unanimity in naming Quirinius as the governor under whom the census was taken at the time of the birth of Jesus. One of the best scholars among the early fathers, Tertullian, says that the census was conducted by Sentius Saturninus whose tenure of the Syrian command we know from Josephus to have included the year 8 B. C.²⁵ Perhaps Tertullian has preserved the true tradition, and the name of Quirinius has slipped into the text through a mistake either of Luke or of an early copyist. As a matter of fact the confusion may extend to the whole verse; αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. The 'first enrolment' ought to be the famous one conducted in 6 A. D.

But there is still the question whether Luke—or Tertullian—is worthy of credence in the account of the holding of a census in Judaea at the time of the birth of Jesus or whether, as has often been suggested, the details about the census were invented to show that Jesus, a Galilean, was born, as the prophets said the Messiah should be, in the city of David. It seems desirable to summarize the results of recent investigations which bear upon the census.²⁶

There is no support from any non-Christian writer for the statement of Luke that Augustus ordered a census of the whole Roman world.²⁷ The three censuses which he himself records in his *Res Gestae* were, as far as we know, enumerations only of

²⁵ *Adv. Marcionem*, 4, 19, census—actos sub Augusto in Iudaea per Sentium Saturninum.

²⁶ In assembling this material Ramsay's work in the two books cited has been invaluable, but his attitude is not dispassionate. Compare his statement, *The Bearing* etc., p. 223.

²⁷ See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II³, 417.

Roman citizens, and that was also the case with the census under Claudius. On the other hand the census conducted by Vespasian was perhaps a general enrolment of population, both citizens and non-citizens.²⁸ In the provinces censuses of non-Romans seem to have been taken at regular intervals from the time of the Republic. They occurred every five years in Sicily in the days of Verres (Cic. *Verr.*, II, 139) and every fourteen years in Egypt during the Empire. The fact that lists of non-Romans divided according to their property qualifications could be secured in Cyrene in 7-6 B. C. is a good indication that census records were fairly well up to date at that time.²⁹

It is thus likely that censuses were held in Syria before the enrolment of 6 A. D. which included both Syria and the newly-formed province of Judaea. But it is more difficult to determine whether the census would have been extended to the realm of the client king Herod. Part of Herod's kingdom certainly paid tribute to the Romans but it is uncertain whether Judaea did and whether the tribute, if exacted, would have been based upon a census. Judaea had been placed under tribute by Pompey (Joseph. *Bell.*, I, 154), and had apparently been released from it by Caesar, though the evidence on the latter point is far from clear.³⁰ Herod is mentioned by Appian (*B. C.*, V, 75) among the kings whom Antony confirmed in their rule on condition that they continue to pay a prescribed tribute. But the subjects of Herod named by Appian are the Idumaeans and Samaritans, and the omission of the Jews has been interpreted to mean that they were free from tribute. A

²⁸ Phlegon, *περὶ μακροβίων*, Jacoby, *Frag. der griech. Hist.*, II B, p. 1187 (Müller, *F. H. G.*, III, pp. 608 ff.) has a list of men and women who lived a century or more which came from the Vespasianic census records (cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 162). His list includes names from the eighth region of Italy and also from Macedonia, Bithynia, and Lusitania. See Mommsen, *l. c.*, and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I, 51, n. 2.

²⁹ See the first of the Augustan edicts recently discovered in Cyrene and the discussion of it by Stroux and Wenger, *Abhand. der bay. Akad.*, XXXIV, 2, p. 97.

³⁰ See the corrupt passage in Caesar's edict quoted by Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 5-6, and the translation of it in the Latin version (quoted in Niese's edition).

similar conclusion has been drawn from Josephus' statements about the opposition of the Jews to the census of 6 A. D.³¹

For the activity of a client king in taking a census in his realm one may cite again the case of the Clitae, a people of Cilicia Tracheia (Tac. *Ann.*, VI, 41). In 36 A. D. their king, Archelaos, who owed his kingdom to the Romans, tried unsuccessfully to carry out a census in the Roman manner among his people. It is possible that Herod acted similarly in his realm. In that case the opposition to the census of 6 A. D. would have been aroused less by the enrolment itself than by the fact that the officials conducting it were not native but Roman.

Luke's statement that every man was commanded to go to his own city to be enrolled has significant parallels in Egyptian records.³² Among the papyri dealing with the census held in Egypt every fourteen years during the Empire are various documents providing for the enrolment by household, ἡ κατὰ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. One of them, dating from 104 A. D., is a command of the prefect of Egypt that those outside their own nome return to their own households to be enrolled.³³ Still other records, the relation of which to the census seems now to be established, mention not the household but the *ιδία*, the place of origin to which men could on an occasion like the taking of the census be forced to return.³⁴ The idea of the *ιδία* was familiar elsewhere in the east. Whatever our decision about the historical accuracy of Luke, he seems to have been recording a custom familiar in Judaea when he says that everyone was ordered to go to his own city (εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν) to be enrolled.

³¹ For the view that Judaea was free from tribute see Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, 176. Against this view see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*², I, 405 ff. See the statement p. 408 "so ist auch Herodes selbst factisch als ein procurator des Kaisers mit dem Königstitel zu betrachten." Cf. Joseph. *Bell.* I, 21, 4 (*Ant.* XV, 10, 3).

³² On the census in Egypt see Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, I, 192-6, and the articles *λαογραφία* (by Laum) and *λαογράφος* (by Preisigke) in the *Realencyclopaedie*. Cf. Johnson and Van Hoesen, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collection*, *J.H.U. Studies in Archaeology* (1929), pp. XV ff.

³³ Wilcken, *op. cit.*, II, no. 202; first published by Kenyon and Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, III, p. 125. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*⁴, 270 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, 305 ff.

There is moreover a curious correspondence in date between the periods of the Egyptian census and the census of Judaea. The earliest record of a *κατὰ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴ* dates from the year 61-62, but the census itself seems to be attested as early as 19-20 A. D. It is generally believed to have been instituted under Augustus. Wilcken suggests either 5-6 A. D. or 10-9 B. C. as the first era. It is a significant fact that 5-6 practically corresponds with the census of Quirinius in Syria and Judaea. The earlier era brings us very close to the Syrian governorship with which Tertullian associated the census at the birth of Jesus, that of Sentius Saturninus who was there in 8 B. C. and may well have begun his office as early as 10-9. It is possible from this curious correspondence in dates which Ramsay pointed out³⁵ that the regions which had made up the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms had their enrolment at the same time.

Moreover 10-9 is just a year before Augustus' second census of Roman citizens, that of 8 B. C. It seems to have been customary in Italian municipalities to take the census a year before the *lustrum* in Rome.³⁶ The census of 8 B. C. differed from those of 28 B. C. and 14 A. D. in that Augustus himself held it without a colleague. Is it possible that it differed also in that it included not only all citizens but all the inhabitants of the Roman world? It is shortly after this, in 7-6 B. C., that Augustus in writing to the people of Cyrene made provisions which were founded on the assumption that lists of non-citizens divided according to their property qualification were available.³⁷ If however the census of 8 B. C. included the whole

³⁵ Ramsay also associates with the Egyptian census era the census of the Clitae in 35. It is a year later than the census era 33-4.

³⁶ The list of magistrates preserved from Venusia (*C. I. L.*, IX, 422) shows that in 29 B. C., the year before Augustus' first census, *duumviri quinquennales*, the regular census officials, were appointed in Venusia.

³⁷ The edict opens with Augustus' statement that he has found (*εὕρισκω*) the number of Roman citizens in Cyrene possessing a census qualifying them for jury duty to be only 215. In the rest of the document it is evident that the emperor has no list of non-citizens at hand, but he assumes that the records are available. He is answering a complaint, and it may be that the numbers are based not on figures which he has secured from the census bureau in Rome but on figures given in the communication which he is answering. For a different conclusion

population, Augustus saw fit to mention only the record of citizens in his *Res Gestae*, and Christian writers have preserved the only reference to the general census.

Luke, who probably lived through the great census of Vespasian, may of course have been reading the conditions of his own time into his account both of the universal enrolment³⁸ and of the accompanying order that every man go to his own city. But the knowledge of the empire which he elsewhere shows perhaps gives ground for more faith in his accounts of the past. Although he is probably wrong in naming Quirinius as governor of Syria before the death of Herod, he may be right in saying that a census of Judaea took place in the days of Herod for which everyone was commanded to return to his own city. It is perhaps not impossible that he is right in the statement that this census was part of an enrolment of all the population of the Roman world.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

see Premierstein, *Zeitschr. der Sav. Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLVIII (1928), 448 ff.

³⁸ See Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

SOME NOTES ON THE WAR WITH THE HOMONADEIS.

[Inscriptions found by Ormerod at Ghyaras give added support to Ramsay's view that the territory of the Homonadeis was situated on the northern slopes of the Taurus about Lake Trogitis. The evidence regarding the existence of a separate province of Pamphylia under Augustus is uncertain, and Piso's command there in 13 B.C. was probably connected with preparations for the Homonadensian war. The character of the war as well as proved uses of the terms *Cilicia* and *Cilices* together give a satisfactory meaning for the MS reading *per Ciliciam* in Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 48.]

I. *The Territory of the Homonadeis.*

From Strabo we learn that the Homonadeis were Cilicians,¹ that they bordered upon the Pisidians from whom they were to be distinguished,² and that both they and the Isaurians bordered upon Cilicia Tracheia,³ strictly defined as the region directly east of Pamphylia, and extending from the southern coast of Asia Minor to the crest of the Taurus range. There is, as Ramsay has pointed out,⁴ but one general area which satisfies these requirements, that on the northern slope of the Taurus about Lake Trogitis (Sogla Göl), and west of Isaura Palaia (Zengibar Kalessi).⁵

There is a series of fixed points which defines their limits more closely, and confirms Ramsay's view. They were bounded on the east by the Isaurians,⁶ whose chief centers were Isaura Palaea (Zengibar Kalessi) and Isaura Nea (Dorla), on the south-west by the territories of Selge and of Catenna.⁷ As

¹ See III, below.

² 14. 5. 24: καὶ οἱ Ὅμοναδεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους οἱ συνάπτοντες τοῖς Πισιδαῖς.

³ 14. 5. 1: μέχρι καὶ τῶν προσβόρων πλευρῶν τῶν περὶ Ἰσαυρα καὶ τοὺς Ὅμοναδέας μέχρι τῆς Πισιδίας.

⁴ Ramsay, *B. S. A.*, 1902-3, 268, and map, Plate V.; *J. R. S.*, 1917, pp. 229 f.

⁵ For these and the sites mentioned below see Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, massstab 1: 400,000, C III. Konia, and D III. Ermenek. See the line map on p. 136 of this article.

⁶ Pliny, *H. N.*, V., 94: cotermina illi (genti Isauricae) gens Homonadum.

⁷ Selge at Seruk on the west bank of the Köprü Su (Eurymedon), Catenna at Godena on the east bank of the Manavghat Chai (Melas). Strabo, 12. 7. 1: συναφεῖς δ' εἰσὶ τούτοις (the Homonadeis) οἱ τε ἄλλοι Πισιδαὶ καὶ οἱ Σελγεῖς . . . Κατεννεῖς ὅμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ὅμοναδεῦσι.

Selge once had a population of 20,000 people,⁸ and Catenna could put 8000 hoplites in the field,⁹ both must have had a considerable territory. A definite indication is given by four inscriptions found by Ormerod.¹⁰ As they were published in a note connected with a study of the campaigns of Servilius Isauricus, their significance in relation to the Homonadeis should be emphasized here. They were found at Ghyaras (Karas), east of the upper valley of the Melas, and record honours paid by the senate and people of Selge to several members of a certain family. Since no other ethnicon is mentioned it appears that this family was Selgan, and that Ghyaras was in the territory of Selge. It is probable that the territory of Selge extended to the main ridge of the Taurus, known here through part of its length as Haidar Dag. Catenna probably also extended to the Haidar Dag farther south. The Homonadeis were therefore confined on this side to the northern slopes of the Taurus. On the north-west a limit is set by the territory of Amlada,¹¹ the site of which has been discovered at Asar Dag, in the valley between Lakes Caralis and Trogitis, a city which existed at least from the second century B. C.¹² Vasada¹³ at Kestel Dag and Dalisandus, if the latter is correctly located at Seidi Sheher,¹⁴ may also have bounded them, but Ramsay has suggested that Dalisandus may have been at first a village of the Homonadeis which developed after the tribe was pacified and divided.¹⁵ Farther north the territory of the Orondeis with its two cities of Pappa (Yonuslar) and Mis-thia (Fassiler) marks a sure limit.¹⁶ Sedasa at Ak Kilisse east of Lake Trogitis was certainly within the area of some

⁸ Strabo, 12. 7. 3.

⁹ Polybius, 5. 73.

¹⁰ Published and discussed in *J. R. S.*, 1922, pp. 53-5.

¹¹ Jüthner, Patsch, Knoll, and Swoboda, *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Expedition nach Kleinasien*, Praga, 1903, pp. 22 f.

¹² Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 751.

¹³ Jüthner, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Its territory bordered on that of Amlada, and these two divided the valley between the lakes; see Ramsay, *J. R. S.*, 1917, 252.

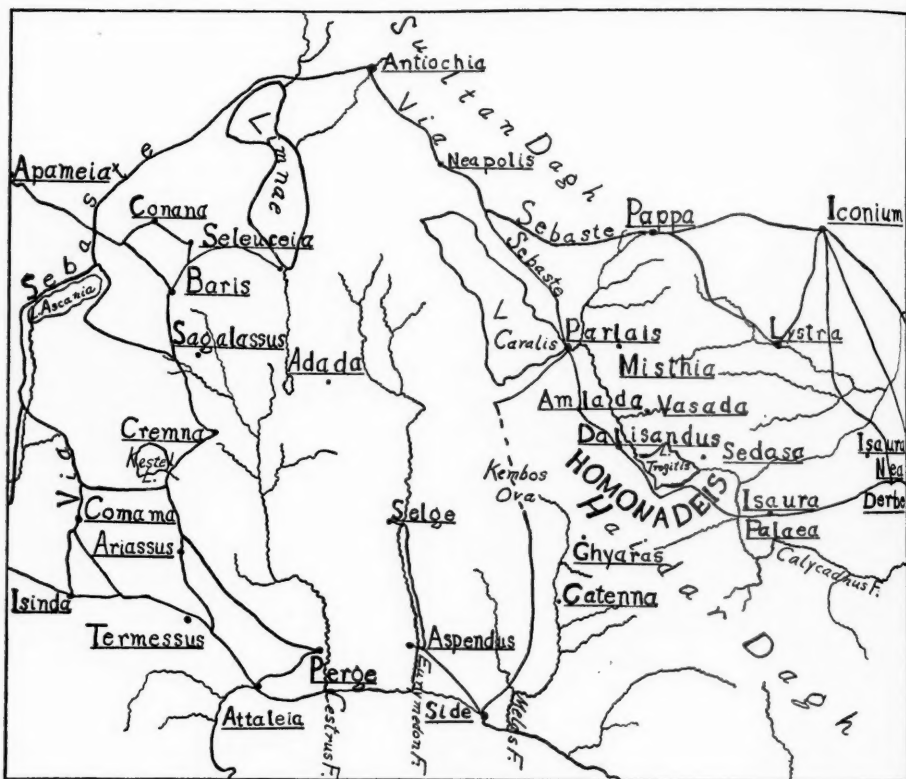
¹⁴ Ramsay, *B. S. A.*, 1902-3, 270.

¹⁵ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 335.

¹⁶ See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 398; *B. S. A.*, 1902-3, 243 f.; 254, 266.

tribe, and most probably within that of the Homonadeis.¹⁷ The site of their main center Homana remains unknown.

We have no evidence upon which to fix their exact limit on the south, where it was most probably the line of the Haidar Dag, or on the west. Strabo describes them as living among



steep and for the most part impassable heights of the Taurus, but possessing a hollow and fertile plain divided into several glens which they tilled although they dwelt in the surrounding cliffs and caves.¹⁸ Ramsay has shown how well this description suits the peculiar physical conditions and genuine fertility of

¹⁷ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 335; Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, 240: $\xi\delta\phi\epsilon[\nu\tau]\tilde{\omega}\delta[\acute{\eta}\mu]\omega[\Sigma]\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\alpha\nu\tau\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}[\theta\epsilon]ι, \dots \acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\delta\mu\omicron\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\acute{\nu}.$. . . Note also in Ormerod, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Calder's suggestion that Sedasa is the name which was corrupted to Gedusa in Cicero's list of lands made *ager publicus* by Servilius Isauricus.

¹⁸ 12. 6. 5.

the area about Lake Trogitis.¹⁹ Jüthner, finding such an area in the Kembos Ova south of Lake Caralis and west of Lake Trogitis, suggested that this was the one Strabo meant.²⁰ The suggestion seems improbable, but as a tribe which had a chief city and forty-four hill villages,²¹ and which at the end of a rather difficult and severe struggle yielded 4000 male captives in the prime of life to be distributed among the neighbouring cities²² must have occupied a considerable area, the possibility that their territory extended west of Lake Trogitis and north of Selge to the Kembos Ova can not be excluded.

II. Roman Strategy and the Status of Pamphylia.

Roman strategy in the conduct of the war against the Homonadeis was naturally conditioned by the fact that it was part of a larger struggle¹ to pacify the raiding tribesmen of the northern slopes of the Taurus from western Pisidia to the borders of Cappadocia. King Amyntas of Galatia had made a beginning. He had taken Cremna on the west,² and had seized Derbe and Laranda on the east from the pirate Antipater. With Roman consent he had also occupied Isauria, and had made expeditions into Pisidian and Homonadensian territory. It is extremely unlikely that the areas he had occupied remained peaceful after he was killed in 25 B. C. In fact we are told³ that the area from Derbe and Laranda southward into Cilicia Tracheia was given to Archelaus of Cappadocia because the restless character of the people made the Romans prefer to govern it by means of client princes. Rome inherited the kingdom of Amyntas and with it his problem.

For a few years little was done. The reorganization of the kingdom of Amyntas could hardly have progressed far when Agrippa in 23 B. C. was given general control in the East.⁴ In

¹⁹ Ramsay, *J. R. S.*, 1917, 229 f.; and esp. 247 f.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.

¹ See III, below.

²¹ Pliny, *H. N.*, V, 94.

² Strabo, 12. 6. 4.

²² Strabo, 12. 6. 5.

³ Strabo, 14. 5. 6.

⁴ See Mommsen, *Res Gestae*², pp. 162-5, on the commands of Agrippa in the East. The delay in dealing decisively with the tribesmen may be explained by the important foreign negotiations and the immense amount of civil and military reorganization which were going on during this period.

20 B. C., when Augustus himself was in the East, Elaeussa, much of Cilicia Tracheia and probably the area including Cybistra and Laranda as far as Derbe, the so-called eleventh *strategia*, was given to Archelaus of Cappadocia, a double stroke of policy, since it made him responsible for order in a turbulent region and recognized his inherited right to that region.⁵ It was also soon after 25 B. C. that Antioch of Pisidia was founded as a Roman military colony,⁶ probably with the purpose of protecting the valley of the lake region from raids, and of securing a good base in the north for future operations. A study of the map⁷ reveals that it was a natural center and rallying point for operations on this front. The Romans who possessed control of the province of Asia, and of the Cilician Gates, through which they could readily draw men from the Syrian legions, could best launch their main attacks from the north as Amyntas had done. Certain inscriptions of Antioch which may date from the period of the war, and especially the system of military roads built and military colonies founded north of the Taurus by 6 B. C. with Antioch as center, indicate that the main attack was actually made from this side.⁸

But apart from the booty-gathering expedition of Gaius Manlius in 189 B. C., whose main objective was northern Galatia, the Romans had had their chief experience with the Taurian mountaineers, especially with the Orondeis, Homonadeis, and Isaurians,⁹ in the campaigns of Servilius Isauricus, whose achievement in crossing the steep southern face of the Taurus from a base in Pamphylia had justly roused Roman admiration.¹⁰ Pompey's operations against the pirates had involved

⁵ Dio, 54. 9. 2; Strabo, 14. 5. 6; 12. 1. 4; see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 337, 371.

⁶ See Ramsay, *J. R. S.*, 1916, p. 83 f., for the evidence.

⁷ See p. 134, note 5, and p. 136.

⁸ Cheesman, *J. R. S.*, 1913, 252 f.; Ramsay, *J. R. S.*, 1917, pp. 242 f. The honorary duumvirate of Quirinius need not necessarily be referred to the period of his command; see Dessau, *Klio*, 1921, 252 f. For the Via Sebaste, see *CIL*, III, 6974; 12217; 14185; 14401.

⁹ Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.*, ii, 50; Ormerod, *J. R. S.*, 1922, pp. 47.

¹⁰ Ormerod, *l. c.*, 48 f. This view has been criticized by Ramsay, *J. H. S.*, 1928, 46, and *Klio*, 1929, 381, but is maintained by Ormerod in *C. A. H.*, IX, 355. On two routes from Side over the Taurus to the region of the lakes, see Ormerod, *l. c.*, p. 49, and 53-5; also Jüthner,

preparations to penetrate inland from the southern coast.¹¹ The memory of these achievements might well recommend at least a consideration of the military possibilities of an attack from the south, and Pamphylia would most probably be considered, as Cilicia Tracheia is an even more difficult region.

Furthermore, in a war involving the pacification of such an extensive area it was necessary that the Pamphylian passes should be guarded, and plans laid to carry on a combined movement, if such seemed feasible, from south and north.¹² Such a plan would explain the presence in Pamphylia in 13 B. C., shortly before the commencement of decisive operations, of Lucius Calpurnius Piso,¹³ an able commander of consular rank.

Piso's command brings up two related questions: what was the status of Pamphylia under Augustus? and what was the character of Piso's authority? In an ambiguous passage Dio says¹⁴ that after the death of king Amyntas the portions of Pamphylia which had formerly been assigned to him ἀπεδόθη τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ. Dio uses the word νομός with the meaning province,¹⁵ ἀπεδόθη may mean 'were restored' or 'were given or assigned'. The former meaning implies, since no province of Pamphylia is known prior to this date,¹⁶ that these areas were added to some province of which Pamphylia had previously been a part. It is probable that Caesar had added Pamphylia to the province of Asia when he reorganized Asia Minor after the battle of Zela,¹⁷

op. cit., pp. 41 f. When Cicero went to his province in 51 B. C. he wished to join his army near Iconium as soon as possible (*Ad Fam.*, iii, 5. 4; Hunter, *J. R. S.*, 1913, 73 f.), but was willing to land at Side to suit the convenience of Appius (*Ad Fam.*, iii, 6. 1). There must have been a practicable direct route from Side to Iconium. A military action from the south against hostile tribesmen would however be extremely difficult.

¹¹ Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 239-40.

¹² This was apparently the unfulfilled plan of the war of Isauricus, Ormerod, *J. R. S.*, 1922, 36 f.

¹³ Dio, 54. 34. 6: Δούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας ἧς ἤρχε. See Anderson, *J. R. S.*, 1917, p. 235, note 2.

¹⁴ 53. 26. 3.

¹⁵ For examples see Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, i, p. 375, note 4.

¹⁶ The province of Pamphylia mentioned in Cicero, *Verr.*, act. i. 4. 11, and quoted by Athenaeus, v, p. 213a, from Posidonius was regularly known as Cilicia.

¹⁷ *Bell. Alex.*, 78; Appian, *B. C.*, ii, 92.

for it was part of Asia in May, 43 B. C.¹⁸ Portions of it were given by Antony to Amyntas in 36 B. C.¹⁹ and were after 25 B. C. restored to their own province. According to this interpretation the province was Asia. Professor Taylor has pointed out above that the similarity of the Pamphylian and the Asian calendars indicates that there was some close relationship between Pamphylia and Asia at the time of the institution of the Asian calendar in 9 B. C. In that case Piso's command in 13 B. C. would have to be interpreted as a special mission. (See below.)

On the other hand, Dio may mean that the portions of Pamphylia were *assigned* to their own province. This would admit the interpretation favoured by Mommsen²⁰ and Dessau,²¹ that Pamphylia became a separate province. If it was felt after 25 B. C. that Pamphylia might later be an important command against the Taurian mountaineers, there was sufficient reason why, in spite of its small area, it should be made a separate province and why it should be important enough to be under a consular in 13 B. C.²² Moreover, in speaking of the formation of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia by Claudius in 43 A. D. Dio says,²³ "He reduced the Lycians to servitude . . . and enrolled them into the province of Pamphylia." The implication is that the province of Pamphylia already existed as a separate entity.

¹⁸ Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, xii. 15. 5: classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam quae extrema regio est provinciae meae. The definiteness of the phrasing here is against Marquardt's belief that the union of Pamphylia with Asia was a temporary measure inspired by the exigencies of civil war.

¹⁹ Dio, 49. 32. 3. I know no further evidence regarding the administration of the rest of Pamphylia at this time.

²⁰ *Provinces*, I, p. 324, and 336 (Dickson's translation).

²¹ *Gesch. d. Kaiserzeit*, II, 2, p. 612.

²² The war must be dated between the consulship of Quirinius in 12 B. C. and the foundation of the Augustan colonies in 6 B. C. Against the building of the roads as evidence of the date, see Torr, *Rev. arch.*, 1920, p. 155. Groag, *Jahresh.*, 1924, beibl., p. 460, note 58, points out that it may either have been finished or else not yet begun in 10 B. C. when it was voted to close the temple of Janus on the ground that wars had ceased, Dio, 54. 36. 2. But the lull was short since fresh disturbances prevented the closing of the temple. Serious disturbances in Thrace had brought Piso away from Pamphylia in 13 B. C.

²³ 60. 17. 3.

But if it did so exist it is odd that no governor or commander of Pamphylia except Piso is known before Claudius. There is another possibility suggested by Groag,²⁴ that Piso was acting as legate of Agrippa, who was in the East from 17-13 B. C. It is a noteworthy fact that during the period, 23-13 B. C., in which either Agrippa or Augustus himself was acting in the East no regular legati are known for the eastern provinces, even for Syria. Agrippa, however, did manage affairs in the East by means of legates.²⁵ Piso was honoured with the title *πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος* in an inscription of Hierapolis of Cilicia,²⁶ the chief town of the kingdom of Tarcondimotus II,²⁷ and as legate of Augustus²⁸ commanded in Thrace from 13-11 B. C. If, as seems most probable, he was legate of Agrippa he could be thus active in various areas and in special missions, but his command in 13 B. C. would not be good evidence for the provincial status of Pamphylia. It seems, therefore, since one passage of Dio is ambiguous, since the second probably refers to a special command, and the third merely implies the previous existence of a province of Pamphylia, that there is no clear evidence for the existence of the province before 43 A. D. We have shown above that there is some indication that it was connected with Asia under Augustus. But Piso's command in 13 B. C. is probable evidence of the progress of some work of military preparation. Anderson's suggestion that his presence in Pamphylia is connected with preparations for the war which Quirinius completed is well worth consideration.

III. *Expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis.*

Haupt's emendation of *per* to *super* in this phrase (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 48) in which Tacitus describes the victory of Quirinius over the Homonadeis has been favoured by Nipperdey, Mommsen,¹ and Ramsay² on geographical grounds. The objec-

²⁴ *Jahreshefte*, 1924, beibl., p. 475.

²⁵ Dio, 53. 32. 1: *ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστράτηγους ἐπεμψεν.*

²⁶ Keil and Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, 1915, beibl., p. 51.

²⁷ Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, i, p. 386; Dittenb., *OGIS*, 754. He was granted his father's kingdom by Augustus in 20 B. C., Dio, 54. 9. 2.

²⁸ Velleius, ii, 98. After the death of Agrippa he would be a legate of Augustus, if he had not become one on being called from Pamphylia.

¹ *Res Gestae*², p. 172.

² *J. R. S.*, 1917, p. 258; also Groag, *Jahreshefte*, 1924, beibl., p. 449.

tions to the reading *per* are twofold: the territory of the Homonadeis does not lie in the district of Cilicia strictly defined, and, even if considered as part of Cilicia, was not large enough to justify the broad movement implied in *per*. It is the purpose of this note to defend the manuscript reading, and to show that *per Ciliciam* has a satisfactory meaning.

If Tacitus used Cilicia in a strictly territorial sense as equivalent to Cilicia Tracheia and Pedias, these objections are valid, for Strabo defines these regions as that part of Cilicia which lies south of the Taurus,³ and implies in the same passage that Isaura and the Homonadeis are on the borders, but not part, of Cilicia Tracheia.⁴ If Tacitus used it as the name of a Roman province *super* is incorrect for the time of Quirinius, but possibly correct for his own; *per* is incorrect for both periods. Pisidia, Isauria, and the territory of the Homonadeis were all part of the province of Galatia until the union of Galatia and Cappadocia, in which the two latter probably remained until after 138 A. D.⁵ The western and central portions of Cilicia Tracheia were not incorporated into a Roman province until the time of Vespasian at the earliest, and possibly not until the early part of the second century.⁶ At the time of Quirinius these portions were under the rule of client princes, and there was no province of Cilicia above which the Homonadeis could lie. The solution of the problem lies along another line.

Strabo in his references to the Homonadeis consistently calls them Cilicians, and distinguishes them from the Pisidians.⁷ In 12. 6. 3-5 he states that Amyntas was killed by Cilicians, and a few lines later says that he was killed by the Homonadeis. It is apparent, as Ramsay says,⁸ that Strabo is using Cilicians and Homonadeis as interchangeable terms.

The term Cilices was used, as Ormerod has pointed out,⁹ in an ethnic sense to include tribes on the northern as well as on

³ 14. 5. 1: τῆς Κιλικίας δὲ τῆς ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου.

⁴ μέχρι καὶ τῶν προσβόρων πλευρῶν τῶν περὶ Ἰσαυρὰ καὶ τοὺς Ὀμοναδέας μέχρι τῆς Πισιδίας.

⁵ See Ramsay, *B. S. A.*, 1902-3, plate V; Ruge, *Pauly-Wissowa*, 13², p. 2255; *CIL*, III, 312; 318; 6818; 6819; and cf. Dittenb., *OGIS*, 576. Selge was probably incorporated in the province of Galatia by Augustus, Strabo, 12. 7. 3.

⁶ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 373 f.

⁸ *B. S. A.*, 1902-3, p. 269.

⁷ 12. 7. 1, and elsewhere.

⁹ *J. R. S.*, 1922, p. 50.

the southern slopes of the Taurus. Herodotus says (I, 72) that the Halys flows in part of its course διὰ Κιλικίων. These belonged to the Cilician, one of the ten strategiae of Cappadocia.¹⁰ The eleventh strategia which Strabo says the Romans gave to the predecessors of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was taken from Cilicia.¹¹ Strabo defines this strategia as the country around Castabala and Cybistra as far as Derbe. Conversely, it was because the Isaurians whom Strabo restricts to the region about Isaura Palaea (Zengibar Kalessi) and Isaura Nea (Dorla) were ethnically Cilicians that the name Isauria came to signify much of Cilicia Tracheia. The later province of Isauria made official an earlier usage.¹² It appears therefore that the tribesmen of the northern slopes of the Taurus from the borders of Pisidia well into Cappadocia could be referred to as Cilicians, and their territory as Cilicia. I believe that Tacitus has used it in this sense.

Furthermore, there was no province in Asia Minor the territorial meaning of which was more inconstant than the Roman province of Cilicia. The first command there under Antonius was little more than an authorization to cruise on the southern coast of Asia Minor.¹³ Sulla as praetor of Cilicia was active in Cappadocia in 92 B. C.¹⁴ Oppius is called governor of Pamphylia.¹⁵ Servilius Isauricus as governor of Cilicia operated in Pamphylia and crossed the Taurus to Isauria, but there is no evidence that he governed either in Tracheia or in Pedias,¹⁶ which were reduced by Pompey. Cicero governed a province which extended from Mount Salbacus to Mount Amanus, including Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and much of Phrygia. Although later reorganizations restricted the official use of the term there was

¹⁰ Strabo, 12. 1. 4.

¹¹ 12. 1. 4: προσεγένετο δ' ὕστερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας τοῖς πρὸ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ στρατηγίᾳ ἣ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ληστοῦ Δέρβης.

¹² Strabo, 12. 6. 2, associates them with Lycaonia to which they were politically attached. The boundaries of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Isauria are not clear; cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 361 f.; Ruge, *Pauly-Wissowa*, 13², pp. 2253 f.

¹³ See material in Taylor and West, *A. J. A.*, 1928, pp. 9 f.

¹⁴ *De Viris Ill.*, 75; Appian, *Mith.*, 57; *B. C.* 1. 77.

¹⁵ Athenaeus, v, p. 213a, quoting Posidonius. See page 139, n. 16.

¹⁶ See Ormerod, *J. R. S.*, 1922, 35 f.

thus some basis in earlier Roman administrative usage for assigning an extended meaning to the word Cilicia.

The territory of the Homonadeis was but a corner of Cilicia situated between Isaura and the Pisidian border, and has been thought too small to justify the preposition *per* in *per Ciliciam*. But the reduction of the Homonadeis was in itself a war of some magnitude. A tribe which had captured and killed Amyntas, which consisted of a large town and forty-four hill forts, required a consular as commander against it, and at the end of a probably none too merciful struggle supplied 4000 male captives in the prime of life¹⁷ was not an inconsiderable unit. In the second place, the war against the Homonadeis was part of a larger operation, the pacification of the tribesmen of the northern Taurus from western Pisidia to Cappadocia.¹⁸ Pliny, Strabo, and Tacitus¹⁹ mention only the tribe which was most difficult to subdue, but the previous activities of king Amyntas, the disturbed character of the region given to Archelaus,²⁰ the founding of the military colonies, and the building of the military roads indicate that the action was of wider extent, and that an important part of it was in the more extended Cilicia we have described above. The site of Colonia Lystra (Khatyn Serai), north of the Isaurians, north-east of the Homonadeis, and east of the Orondeis, is especially significant for the need of military action throughout this whole region. It may have been necessary also to extend operations southwards into Cilicia Tracheia.

Tacitus has mentioned the chief action and the general region in which it took place. Those who have struggled with the topographical vagueness of his account of the campaigns of Germanicus will not allow the fact that he has mentioned only the Homonadeis to invalidate *per Ciliciam* as a description of the sphere of operations here.

T. R. S. BROUGHTON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

¹⁷ Strabo, 12. 6. 5.

¹⁸ See II.

¹⁹ Pliny, *H. N.*, v, 94; Strabo, *l. c.*; Tacitus, *l. c.*

²⁰ Strabo 14. 5. 6.

SOME TRACES OF SERFDOM IN CICERO'S DAY.

[The *Martiales* mentioned by Cicero in *pro Cluentio*, 43, and the *vernae* mentioned by Decimus Brutus in *ad Fam.*, 11, 19, 2, probably were serfs, not slaves; the *coloni* mentioned by Caesar in *Bell. Civ.*, 1, 56, probably were the descendants of Etruscan serfs and in a condition little better than serfdom.]

The Roman law of the Republic and the early Empire did not recognize a status corresponding to that which we call serfdom. In the eyes of the law the person was either slave or free. Further, there was then no Latin word consecrated to the meaning "serf." It is generally believed that the institution, although it was common enough in the ancient world, was not to be found in Romanized territory. There is evidence, however, that there were some instances of it in Cicero's day.

Let us start with the *Martiales* of the temple of Mars at Larinum. Our only information on them is Cicero's tantalizingly incomplete account of how Oppianicus tried to establish their freedom and Roman citizenship. He says:

Martiales quidam Larini appellabantur, ministri publici Martis atque ei deo veteribus institutis religionibusque Larinatum consecrati: quorum cum satis magnus numerus esset, cumque item, ut in Sicilia permulti Venerii sunt, sic illi Larini in Martis familia numerarentur, repente Oppianicus eos omnes liberos esse civesque Romanos coepit defendere.¹

On what theory did Oppianicus proclaim their freedom and citizenship? We know that the human appurtenances of many temples were serfs,² although there are no examples in Italy. The fact that the *Martiales* could be compared to the *Venerii* in Sicily suggests that they were serfs. Cicero tells us that Verres used the *Venerii* as *publicani*,³ a function which *servi publici* could not have discharged,⁴ so that they must have been serfs, not slaves. Although Cicero's reference to a *liberta Veneris Erycinae*⁵ has been taken to mean that the woman must formerly have been a slave,⁶ we may assume that in the absence of a word signifying "freed from serfdom" *liberta*

¹ *Pro Cluentio*, 15, 43.

² Hepding, "Hieroduloi," in *PW*, VIII, 1466.

³ *Verr.*, III, 50, 55, 86, 89.

⁴ Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, p. 320.

⁵ *Divinatio in Caec.*, 55.

⁶ Hepding, p. 1467.

can have that meaning beside its usual meaning. The *Venerii*, then, were serfs, so that the *Martiales* probably were as well.

The incident to which Cicero refers is more easily explicable on this theory. Oppianicus, whose character Cicero was trying to blacken in this speech, had had himself made quattuorvir of Larinum by force during the disturbances of the Sullan victory. Presently (in 74 B. C.) he announced that the *Martiales* were free men and Roman citizens. The decurions decided to take the matter to court and persuaded Cluentius to act for them. Although Cicero introduces the incident as another of Oppianicus' misdeeds, he takes care to say nothing of the outcome. He tells us that the two were arguing the case at Rome, then slides gracefully into an account of how Oppianicus tried to poison Cluentius. We may conclude that Oppianicus was not confounded and disgraced by the decision of the court and that his contention was more reasonable than Cicero cared to admit.

If the *Martiales* were slaves, it is difficult to see how Oppianicus could have made out a case for their freedom.⁷ If, on the other hand, they were serfs, he might plausibly have maintained that they should be given full citizenship. With the privileges of citizenship they would assume certain duties as well, so that from the Roman point of view it was desirable that they should acquire the superior status. We cannot say (and it is immaterial) whether Oppianicus was moved by a sense of duty, the hope of some gain, or merely a desire to annoy the people of Larinum. The fact that the full citizenship had recently been given the Italians doubtless encouraged him to assert his view and to carry the matter to court at Rome. If Cluentius could not prove conclusively that the *Martiales* were slaves, the court was very likely to declare them free men, a proceeding which would be to Rome's advantage.

Aemilius Paullus' freeing the *servei* at Hasta in Spain in 189 is somewhat illustrative.⁸ The fact that the *servei* possessed land shows that they were serfs, not slaves (*agrum oppidumqu., quod ea tempestate possident, item possidere habereque iousit*).

⁷ Von Premerstein, "Clientes," in *PW*, IV, 42, suggests that they were former slaves given to the temple by *manumissio sacrorum causa* and that Oppianicus believed that they should have the same status as clientes, which implied citizenship.

⁸ See Dessau, *Inscr. Lat.*, 15, for his decree, and Mommsen, "Bemerkungen zum Decret des Paullus," in *Hermes*, 3 (1869), 265-267.

Paullus may have been rewarding them for services rendered, or setting up a new free class on the principle of "divide and rule," or perhaps aiming merely at the acquisition of useful Roman allies. At any rate, the paucity of evidence of serfdom in Roman territory presumably indicates, as Mommsen suggests, that the Romans preferred not to have it and that Paullus in this case was acting in accord with the usual Roman policy. Oppianicus, who had often been in Rome, should have known of the principle. If we assume that he did and that he believed that the status of the *Martiales* was such that the principle would apply to them, his conduct becomes intelligible.

The second instance was at Vicetia, in Cisalpine Gaul, and is recorded in some of Decimus Brutus's letters to Cicero written in May, 43. In *Ad Fam.* 11, 10, 3, he says, "Revertor nunc ad Antonium. Qui ex fuga cum parvulam manum peditum haberet inermium, ergastula solvendo omneque genus hominum abripiendo satis magnum numerum videtur effecisse." In 11, 13, 2, "Quacumque iit, ergastula solvit . . ." Then in 11, 19, 2 comes the most significant remark: "Vicetini me et M. Brutum praecipue observant. His ne quam patiari iniuriam fieri in senatu vernarum causa a te peto. Causam habent optimam, officium in re p. summum, genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum et incertissimum." Antony, in his retreat after the senatorial victory at Mutina, had gathered recruits by every possible means. He had opened ergastula (according to his enemies, at least) and taken the slaves and gathered other men as well. Among them, apparently, were the *vernae* about whom the citizens of Vicetia were complaining to the Senate.

These *vernae* probably were not household slaves, but serfs. Antony would hardly have taken household slaves with him, but agricultural workers would have been desirable as soldiers. Justinus, as we shall presently see, used the word to designate the Etruscan serfs, and it was a natural word to use, since there was no Latin word consecrated to that meaning. The serf would be born into his master's possession, like the *verna*. If Decimus Brutus had meant ordinary *servi*, he doubtless would have used that word. Besides, Cisalpine Gaul had not been Romanized and urbanized long enough to have any considerable number of house slaves of the second generation.

Among the Gauls (and Vicetia was largely a Celtic town)

there were several varieties of status which approximated serfdom, so that we need not be surprised at finding serfdom in Cisalpine Gaul. The *soldurii* were least like serfs as we understand the term.⁹ The Romans usually translated the word by *devoti*. They were bands who surrounded various chieftains, fought with them, and were sworn not to survive them.¹⁰

The *ambacti* were somewhat more like serfs.¹¹ Diodorus (5, 29, 2) says that they were recruited from the very poor and were used as charioteers and spear-holders. Caesar (*Bell. Gall.*, 6, 15, 2) says, ". . . ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet," and Polybius tells us (2, 17, 12) that the chiefs vied in the number of their slaves and περιφερόμενοι. The etymology of the word (see Holder) and Polybius' translation of it suggest that they were free men who had got into an inferior situation, and Caesar says (6, 13), "Pleique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus; quibus in hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos." To Ennius the word was equivalent to *servus* (Festus, s. v.), but Polybius and Caesar both speak of slaves, and not as though they were the same as *ambacti*.

Caesar refers (1, 4) to a class of men whom he calls *obaerati*. Orgetorix brought to his trial his whole *familia* (slaves), numbering ten thousand, and all his clients and *obaerati*, of whom he had a large number. Caesar probably used the word as a rough equivalent for *ambactus*, the native word. In 6, 15, 2 he speaks of *ambacti* and clients; here he speaks of *obaerati* and clients, and he does not use the words together, implying a difference in their meanings, as he differentiates both from "client."

The grievance of the Catilinarians recorded in Sallust's *Catiline* (33) may explain why Caesar chose this word as the handy translation of *ambactus*. Sallust gives what purports to be Manlius' statement of grievances, the substance of which is, "We have taken up arms only because the cruelty of the money lenders and the harshness of the praetors have made our persons insecure, for we can no longer rely on the law forbidding seizure

⁹ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, II, 1599.

¹⁰ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, 3, 22.

¹¹ Holder, I, 114.

for debt." There had been a time, before the year 326, when an insolvent debtor could legally be seized and made to pay his debt by work. Varro says, "Liber qui suas operas in servitutem pro pecunia quam debebat, dum solveret, nexus vocatur, ut ab aere obaeratus. Hoc C. Poetelio Libone Visolo dictatore sublatum ne fieret, et omnes qui bonam copiam iurarunt, ne essent nexi, dissoluti."¹² Manlius' statement implies that praetors who were more in sympathy with creditors than with debtors had been refusing to allow the safeguard to debtors provided by the *Lex Poetelia et Papiria*. Debtors belonging to the lower classes might have suffered for years at the hands of harsh creditors and conservative courts without being able to assert their rights successfully. The word which described the condition of these men surely did not apply with legal exactness to the condition of the Gauls whom Caesar had in mind, but it was a natural word for him to use, since there was a rough resemblance.

It is clear, then, that among the Gauls a status between complete freedom and slavery was known. There is no evidence that this class, in any of its forms, was employed in farming, but those who were not definitely soldiers probably were so employed. Men in such a condition might well have been attracted by Antony's promises and have run away.

On the other hand, perhaps Antony had nothing to do with the dispute between the Vicetini and their *vernae*. The expression "genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum et incertissimum" suggests that the issue may have been one raised by the *vernae* themselves. Possibly they realized that their status was such as to give them a claim to full freedom under Roman law and had somehow managed to have their complaint brought before the Senate. We should expect them to have been slow to comprehend their rights and to have had great difficulty in making themselves heard. Although we do not know the outcome, we know that their case was given a hearing favorable enough to cause great uneasiness to the Vicetini.

The discussion of the third point should start from two passages in Caesar's *Bellum Civile*. In 1, 34 he says, "profectum etiam Domitium ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas Igili et in Cosano a privatis coactas servis, libertis,

¹² *De L. L.*, 7, 105.

colonis suis compleverat," and in 1, 56, "Certas sibi deposcit naves Domitius atque has colonis pastoribusque quos secum adduxerat complet."

The *colonus* of that period was a free man. Domitius' *coloni* seem to have been taken to the war by their master in a manner inconsistent with the rights of free men. We have no conclusive proof that they went at his command, not at all of their own free will, but such seems from Caesar's way of putting it to have been the case. The question naturally arises what the status and condition of these *coloni* really was. We cannot assume that they were serfs; so large and clear an example of serfdom and so near Rome would have been impossible in the then state of opinion and law. It is not impossible, however, that this imposition of a personal servitude on theoretically free men was an effect of the Etruscan serfdom.

The estates of Domitius apparently were in Etruria, since the ships were got together at Igilium and Cosa. CIL, I, 1344 is further evidence that he had estates in that region. Dio (41, 11, 2) says that he belonged to the Sullan group and acquired a great deal of land thereby, but that cannot be true, for he was too young at the time, and his father was already dead.¹³ Presumably the tenants were of the same stock as the former serfs, a stock likely to be somewhat lacking in force and ability. Compulsory military service seems to have been a regular obligation of the Etruscan serf. Dionysius (9, 5; see Livy, 2, 44, and 9, 36, 6. 12) tells us that when Rome and Veii were at war in 479, the Etruscans assembled their serfs (*πενέστας*) for the conflict. Zonaras (8, 7) says that about two centuries later the people of Volsinii, after their submission to Rome, carried on their campaigns with their *οικέται*, who apparently were serfs.¹⁴

¹³ Münzer, "Domitius," Nos. 21, 27, in *PW*, V, 1327, 1334. However, the land may well have come into the possession of some one of his relatives at that time, and thence to him.

¹⁴ He says further that the "servants" gained both power and spirit, until they felt that they had a right to freedom, which they finally obtained through their own efforts. It is possible that they, too, appealed to the Romans and were made free by them. Afterward, says Zonaras, they married their former mistresses and held even the highest offices. Justinus speaks of the rule of slaves and *vernae* over the Etruscans, in which passage *vernae* must mean serfs. In Decimus Brutus' letter, then, the word probably means serfs.

It may be, then, that Domitius' *coloni* were the descendants of serfs and that the landlords had for generations succeeded in keeping up the tradition of this liability of personal service in spite of the change of legal condition.

We find that clienthood sometimes entailed this same obligation of military service at the call of the great man.¹⁵ In the case of the *clientes*, too, it may have been a survival of an obligation customarily imposed upon serfs, since there is other evidence that early clienthood may have been an outgrowth of serfdom.¹⁶

This view of the condition of Domitius' *coloni* suggests a reexamination of Rostovtzeff's theory that this incident and Pompey's gathering of soldiers from his estates together betray a miserable condition and morale of the *coloni* throughout Italy which led naturally to the colonate.¹⁷ If the foregoing discussion be sound, the condition of Domitius' *coloni* proves nothing about the condition and morale of the rest of the *coloni* in Italy at this time. Their condition does not reveal the germ of the colonate; it was merely a vestige of Etruscan serfdom.¹⁸

But did the Pompeian troops include many *coloni* forced into service from Pompey's own estates or from those of his other supporters? The evidence is to the contrary. In the first place,

¹⁵ Von Premerstein, *PW*, IV, 37.

¹⁶ T. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, pp. 12 f.

¹⁷ *Social and Economic History*, pp. 192, 493; *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich*, I, 169; *Studien*, p. 339, n. 1.

¹⁸ Rostovtzeff apparently relies partly on the conclusion of Kromayer (*Neue Jahrb.*, 17 (1914), 160-164) followed by Kornemann ("Bauernstand," in *PW*, Suppl. 4, 103) that at this time there was a very strong tendency toward absorption of small holdings into large ones, so that there must have been a large number of *coloni*. Kromayer's arguments must be regarded with caution, because (1) Domitius' promise (p. 162) of 4 *iugera* each to 15,000 men does not prove that other men had estates large enough to make such gifts from; (2) the reformation of the Praenestine land given Sulla's men (p. 164) into large estates is a special case, conditioned by the nearness of Rome, the disadvantage of the small producer in a wine country, and the fact that military life unfits a man for farm life; (3) the number of adult male citizens in the middle of this century was much larger than has been supposed (Frank, *Class. Philology*, 19 (1924), 333, 340), which implies a larger number of small freeholds than has been supposed; (4) the number of soldiers settled at any one time was not large in proportion to the total population, and not all were landless when they joined the army.

our sources give no hint of a parallel to the incident of Domitius' *coloni*, except perhaps that Caesar mentions two detachments of *servi* and *pastores*, totaling a thousand men, who were impressed into Pompey's service.¹⁹ This proves little, even if we assume that Caesar deliberately misrepresented and that these men were *coloni*.

Pompey did raise some troops in Picenum, where his family estates were. Recruiting officers were sent to various regions in Italy to gather veterans, men on furlough from the levies of 55, and those who had been sworn to allegiance in 52. Of course Picenum was included; Attius Varus was in charge. Some of the Picentine recruits deserted to Caesar at Auximum and some at Asculum, but Pompey's officer Vibullius Rufus went to Picenum and managed to organize 13 cohorts from the levies and led them to Corfinium. There is no evidence, direct or inferential, that the recruiting in this region was on a different basis from that in any other region. Presumably some of Pompey's *coloni* were enrolled, but there is no evidence that they were forced to do so.²⁰ The fact that Caesar used the deserters shows that they were not serfs.

The clearest indication, however, that the Pompeian army was not largely composed of tenantry forced into service is its smallness. Pompey took only five legions from Brundisium to Greece. Two of these were the ones transferred to him by Caesar, and the normal recruiting will account for the other three. A large number of senators went with him. We should expect the senators to be large landholders and to have tractable *coloni*, if there were any such, but it is evident that the number of Pompey's troops would have been far greater if they really had been able to take their *coloni* with them to the war. We must conclude, then, that the composition of Pompey's army does not betray the existence of a large number of almost servile citizens. Domitius' *coloni* were the only ones ordered to fight in this war, and they were not typical of the *coloni* in Italy.

¹⁹ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, 1, 24; 3, 4.

²⁰ In *Ad. Att.*, 8, 12b, 2 Pompey writes to Domitius, who was unwilling to leave Corfinium and come to him, "Sed si erunt qui te impediant ut villas suas servent, aequum est me a te impetrare ut cohortis quae ex Piceno et Camerino venerunt, quae fortunas suas reliquerunt, ad me missum facias." One could hardly expect a great landowner to speak thus of very humble tenants.

No sweeping generalization from these three incidents is possible. The first two tempt us to imagine a hit-or-miss, slow process of eliminating serfdom from Roman territory, sometimes by the arrangements of a victorious general, sometimes by decree of a provincial governor, sometimes by the courts, sometimes by the Senate. The importance of the third lies chiefly in its bearing (or rather lack of bearing) on the problem of the origin of the colonate.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

GALEN AND POSIDONIUS' THEORY OF VISION.

[Arranged from notes left by the late Professor Roger M. Jones. An abstract of this paper is given in the concluding paragraph.]

Taking a passage from Plotinus (IV, 5, 4) as a starting-point and adducing several passages of Galen as a description of the theory of vision there mentioned, Karl Reinhardt in his book, *Kosmos und Sympathie* (pp. 188-192) claims to find in these passages Posidonius' theory of vision. This theory, he thinks Galen's description shows, was "vitalistic"; and he sums it up in the following words: "Es handelt sich bei ihm (Posidonius) nicht mehr, wie in der Vorsokratik, um die Ableitung der Wahrnehmung aus den Prinzipien, sondern um diejenige Wechselwirkung zwischen dem Makrokosmos und dem Mikrokosmos, als welche die Wahrnehmung sich darstellt. Der Wahrnehmungsapparat des Mikrokosmos bildet nun ein Ganzes, das, indem es sich aus den in den vier Elementen selbst enthaltenen sensitiven Kräften aufbaut, mit dem makrokosmischen Sensorium sich verbindet und 'verwächst.' Wie das Gesicht 'lichtartig,' das Gehör 'luftartig' ist, so ist auch umgekehrt das Licht selbst 'wahrnehmend,' die Luft selbst 'hört mit uns.' Erkenntnis ist Verschmelzung eines Einzelwesens mit dem Kosmos, letzten Endes Einigung und Sympathie des Kosmos mit sich selbst."¹

I shall first examine the passages on which Reinhardt's interpretation depends and then certain other remarks of Galen which he does not mention.

Plotinus (IV 5, 4) says *εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο τὸ συναφὲς ἔμφυχον γίνεται, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γιγνομένη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔνδον, ἐν τῷ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δῆπουθεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιτο τοῦ μεταξὺ φωτός. . . .* This, Reinhardt says, is the theory of Posidonius, the vitalism of which is evident in Galen, p. 641. The translation misrepresents the Greek, however. "Wenn das mit dem Gesicht verbundene Licht selbst beseelt ist" obscures the fact that the theory attributes to light not a *state* of spirituality but a *process* of becoming spiritualized, and that too merely in the sense that the soul passes *through* it and moves *in* it while

¹ I. Heinemann, *Poseidonios' Metaphysische Schriften*, pp. 456-7, accepts this interpretation: "auch die Luft, sobald sie von der Sonne beschienen wird, selbst sehfähig wird." He calls Galen's presentation "wohl aus Poseidonios schöpfend."

the light itself is not changed in any way (cf. the end of the sentence: *πάσχοντος οὐδέν τοῦ μεταξύ, ἀλλὰ γίνεται τῆς ὀψεως φορὰ ἐκεῖ*).

Reinhardt next quotes Galen, p. 641, where it is said that the surrounding air is to the eye as the nerve is to the brain (and the nerve is a part of the brain): *πεφωτισμένος γὰρ ὑφ' ἡλίου τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡδὴ τῆς ὀψεως ὄργανον οἷον τὸ παραγινόμενον ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου πνεῦμα*. But before the air is lighted up *ὁμοιοπαθὲς ὄργανον οὐ γίνεται*. There follows a comparison of Stoics, Epicurus, and Aristotle, which Reinhardt omits. Then Galen proceeds *τί δὲ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τὴν ἡλιακὴν αὐγὴν αἰσθητικὴν ὑποθέσθαι οἷον μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πνεῦμα τὸ παραγινόμενον ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου προδήλως ὁράται*; for it is *φωτοειδές* and so the soul is either *αὐγοειδές τε καὶ αἰθερωδές σῶμα* or, if itself incorporeal, has this body as its first vehicle through which, as a medium, it communicates with other bodies.

The statement here that the solar ray is *αἰσθητική* caused Reinhardt to consider Galen's theory "vitalistic" (cf. p. 102). On this basis he says that the origin of the passage is clear because it agrees with Cicero *de Natura Deorum* II 83 (*ipseque aer nobiscum videt nobiscum audit*) and Sextus adv. dogm. I 93 and 119 f.² He quotes Sextus I 92-3 where, after the statement of the Pythagorean doctrine of the criterion and the verses of Empedocles, *γαίη μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀνόπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ, κτλ.*, follows the sentence *καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν φῶς, φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τὸν Πλάτωνος Τίμαιον ἐξηγούμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς φωτοειδοῦς ὀψεως καταλαμβάνεται, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀεροειδοῦς ἀκοῆς, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄλων φύσις ὑπὸ συγγειοῦς ὀφείλει καταλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ λόγου*.

There is, however, some ambiguity in the way Galen applies to the solar ray the adjective *αἰσθητική*. First, the ray, being luminous, by its presence converts the air into a visual organ, such as is *τὸ παραγινόμενον ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου πνεῦμα*, but later the solar ray itself is called *αἰσθητική οἷον μάλιστα τὸ . . . πνεῦμα . . .* As for the two passages of Sextus, they can show at most only that Posidonius based his doctrine of relationship of macrocosm and

² Sextus adv. dogm. I 119 merely says that Plato in the *Timaeus* proves the soul to be incorporeal by the argument that as sight which perceives light is luminous, hearing which judges concussions of air is *ἀεροειδής*, etc., so the soul which perceives incorporeal forms must be incorporeal.

microcosm on the theory of sensation in the *Timaeus* and in Empedocles' poem. They have no direct connection with this passage of Galen.

But there is another passage of Galen which Reinhardt quotes as parallel to Sextus. Galen (de placit., p. 625) says, "If sight alone of the senses perceives the object by the medium of air, not ὡς βακτηρίας τινός (which is the orthodox Stoic theory) ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁμοειδοῦς τε καὶ συμφυνοῦς ἑαυτῇ μορίου and if sight alone has this privilege μετὰ τοῦ καὶ διὰ ἀνακλάσεως ὁρᾶν, naturally ἐδείθη πνεύματος ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέοντος αἰγοειδοῦς, ὃ προσπίπτον τῷ πέριξ ἀέρι καὶ ὅλον ἐπιπλήττον αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ συνεξομοιώσει. δεόντως οὖν ἐροῦμεν αἰγοειδὲς μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ὄργανον, ἀεροειδὲς δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἀτμοειδὲς δὲ τὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς γεύσεως ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀφῆς γεῶδες. Then follow the verses of Empedocles. Reinhardt takes the word συμφυνοῦς to be clear evidence that Galen is giving the same doctrine listed by Aëtius 403 D: Ποσειδώνιος γοῦν αὐτὴν (i. e. τὴν ὄρασιν) σύμφυσιν ὀνομάζει. But he fails to note that this passage contains an important addition to the remarks of the Galen passage first quoted. Here sight requires πνεύματος ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέοντος αἰγοειδοῦς which impinges upon the surrounding air and assimilates it to itself.³

Only by determining what this πνεῦμα is shall we be able to decide whether the solar ray is of itself αἰσθητικὴ and whether, in consequence, Galen's theory is "vitalistic." To do this we must examine certain passages not mentioned by Reinhardt.

Galen in his discussion of the nerves (p. 615) says that what is generally called διάδοσις δυνάμεως is really ἀλλοιώσεως μετάδοσις οἷα καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα γίνεται πρὸς τῆς ἡλιακῆς αὐγῆς. οὕτω γοῦν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τὸ παραγινόμενον εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς πνεῦμα κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔμπτωσιν ἐνοῦσθαί τε τῷ περιέχοντι καὶ συναλλοιοῦν αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλείστον γ' ἐκτείνεσθαι. Here it is plain that the πνεῦμα which assimilates the outer air to its own nature is the πνεῦμα which travels from the brain to the eye and strikes the air outside, and the air becomes συμφυνές and an organ of sight by reason of the activity of this πνεῦμα on it. Still here there is an analogy between the action on the air of this

³ Reinhardt seems to equate this πνεῦμα with the ἡλιακὴ αὐγὴ of the previous passage, for he quotes Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* V 8: ortus solis feriens gelidum aëra.

πνεῦμα, on the one hand, and of the solar ray on the other: both exercise on it a "communication of alteration." But does the ray, which was called αἰσθητική on p. 641, render the air αἰσθητικόν as the πνεῦμα does? Like action of like agents on the same patient should have like results, and the analogy—if pressed as Reinhardt presses it—should mean that the air, whether assimilated to the solar ray or to the πνεῦμα, becomes αἰσθητική.

But Galen clarifies the matter on p. 616: *λείπεται οὖν ἐτι τὸν περίξ ἀέρα τοιοῦτον ὄργανον ἡμῖν γίγνεσθαι καθ' ὃν ὁρῶμεν χρόνον, ὁποῖον ἐν τῷ σώματι τὸ νεῦρον ὑπάρχει διὰ παντός* (i. e. the air is a visual instrument, is αἰσθητικός, only during the time we are actually seeing; and in this respect it differs from the nerve in the body which is *always* a sensitive instrument). *τοιοῦτον γάρ τι πάσχειν ἔοικεν ὁ περιέχων ἡμᾶς ἀὴρ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐμπώσεως, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἡλιακῆς αὐγῆς. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ ψάφουσα τοῦ ἀνω αὐτοῦ δίδωσιν εἰς ὅλον τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τε διὰ τῶν ὀπτικῶν νεύρων ὅψις φερομένη, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ἔχει πνευματικήν, ἐμπίπτουσα δὲ τῷ περιέχοντι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν ἐργαζομένη διαδίδωσι ἄχρι πλείστον τοῦ συνεχοῦς αὐτῷ, δηλονότι τοῦ περίξ σώματος ὑπάρχοντος, ὡς ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν εἰς ὅλον αὐτὸ διαπέμπει.* (It is the effluence of the optic nerves which has the οὐσία πνευματική, not the solar ray; and the following sentences show that power of the ray on the air is confined to making the air luminous.) So it is clear wherein the analogy between the solar ray and the πνεῦμα consists; each of them assimilates the air to its own nature—and instantaneously—but the πνεῦμα makes it αἰσθητικόν the αὐγή simply φωτοειδῆ.

Galen remarked (p. 641) that the problem of the medium resolves itself into the question whether the medium is simply a path along which something travels from object to observer or is itself an organ for perception of the visible as the nerve is for perception of tangibles. Reinhardt there noted: "Ebenso S. 623 Müller wie denn dies Ganze zusammengehört." Now p. 623 says that the eye contains a vast amount of πνεῦμα ψυχικόν. *εἰκότως δ', ὡς ἔφην, οὕτω κατεσκευάσθη, δεόμενος ὀργάνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ περίξ ἀέρι. καὶ γίνεται δὲ τοιοῦτον ὄργανον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αἰσθητῶν διάγνωσιν, οἷον ἐγκεφάλῳ τὸ νεῦρον, ὥσθ' ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἐγκέφαλος πρὸς τὸ νεῦρον, τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμὸς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα.*⁴ And

⁴ If the source of the πνεῦμα were the sun, the sentence must have read *ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἐγκέφαλος πρὸς τὸ νεῦρον, τοιοῦτον ὉΛΙΟΣ ἔχει πρὸς*

below: ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἐκτείνεται διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ τὸ κεχρωσμένον. So from this passage itself Reinhardt should have seen that the πνεῦμα ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέον αἰγοαδές of p. 625 is the πνεῦμα ψυχικόν which passes out at the eye. The air becomes a visual instrument like a nerve by reason of the transforming action of the πνεῦμα and of light; the ἀλλοίωσις in each case takes place instantaneously.

But then Galen's theory is only a clearer statement of Plato's in *Timaeus* 45 C-D: ὅταν οὖν μεθήμερινὸν ἢ φῶς περὶ τὸ ὄψεως ρεῦμα, τότε' ἐκπίπτον ὁμοιον πρὸς ὁμοιον, ξυμπαγές γενόμενον, ἐν σῶμα οἰκωθὲν ξυνέστη κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων εὐθυρίαν, ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἀντερείδῃ τὸ προσπίπτον ἔνδοθεν πρὸς ὃ τῶν ἔξω ξυνέπεσεν. ὁμοιοπαθὲς δὴ δι' ὁμοιότητα πᾶν γενόμενον, ὅτου τε ἂν αὐτὸ ποτε ἐφάπτηται καὶ ὃ ἂν ἄλλο ἐκείνου, τούτων τὰς κινήσεις διαδίδον εἰς ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθησιν παρέσχετο ταύτην, ἣ δὴ ὁρᾶν φαμέν, ἀπελθόντος δὲ εἰς νύκτα τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς πυρὸς ἀποτέμνεται. πρὸς γὰρ ἀνόμοιον ἐξιδὼν ἀλλοιοῦται τε αὐτὸ καὶ κατασβέννυται, ξυμφυὲς οὐκέτι τῷ πλησίον ἀέρι γιγνόμενον, ἅτε πῦρ οὐκ ἔχοντι. (It is especially noteworthy that the word *συμφυές*, on which Reinhardt lays such stress in the passage of Galen, p. 625, occurs in this passage of Plato in exactly the same context.) A. E. Taylor's commentary on this passage reads exactly like Galen's explanation without the element of ἀλλοίωσις. "In the day-time the fine light within the eye can get out in a stream and then fuses with the light round about it. In this way there arises a 'pencil' of light extending from a body outside us continuously to our own eye, and this pencil is a temporary but real member of our own body and is sensitive throughout and so 'transmits' sensation from one extremity to the other. Light is thus a kind of extended touch or contact at a distance."⁵

τὸν ἀέρα. And, of course, the explanation of the abundance of πνεῦμα in the eye would have been abortive.

⁵ Note that this is exactly the objection Plotinus makes to the theory he is combating (IV 5, 4) and which Reinhardt claims is Posidonian. According to this theory, says Plotinus, ἀφ᾽ ἧ ἔσται ἐοικὸς τὸ ὁρᾶν. (It may not be amiss here to point out that Taylor's statement, page 178 of his commentary, that Plato uses ἀήρ in the antique sense of "mist or water vapor," that it is because of this sense of the word that ἀήρ can be said to "quench" the ocular fire, is disproved by Galen's account. The fire is quenched by the air for the simple reason explicitly stated by Plato. Coming in contact with the "unlike," it is "altered and so put out.")

The elements in Galen's explanation which are not found in Plato's are: 1) the word πνεῦμα substituted for πῦρ, a substitution found also in Plutarch's version in *Quaest. Conviv.*, 626 C-D, 2) the explicit conception of ἀλλοίωσις due to the πνεῦμα, 3) a more exact knowledge of the brain and nerves, 4) the plain statement that the 'pencil' of light is an ὄργανον. The last element is not mentioned by Plato, though it is incorporated into Taylor's paraphrase and is a natural extension of Plato's own language; indeed, the phrases ἐν σῶμα οἰκωθέν ξυνέστη κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων εὐθυωρίαν and τὰς κινήσεις διαδιδόν εἰς ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς could not be otherwise interpreted.

We must also note that Galen (pp. 627-628) quotes this passage as representing his own theory and follows the quotation with the line of Empedocles which occurs on p. 625 and in Sextus *adv. dogm.* I 92. This similarity in the two last-mentioned places impressed Reinhardt; but here Galen goes on to show that Plato adopted the doctrine of Empedocles in a special sense, and he supports his interpretation by a quotation from the *Theaetetus*. So far as concerns Galen, Reinhardt's statement "Wieder ist Poseidonios mit Empedokles . . . nicht zu verwechseln" is beside the point; Galen, rather, takes pains to show that Empedocles and Plato are not to be confused.

There is also some evidence for the origin of the concept of ἀλλοίωσις which is absent from Plato's theory but occurs in Galen's account. In a passage omitted by Reinhardt Galen says (p. 643) that Epicurus gives a better explanation than do the Stoics and better than Epicurus is Aristotle: οὐκ εἰδωλον σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ ποιότητα δι' ἀλλοιώσεως τοῦ περίξ ἀέρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρατῶν ἄγων ἄχρι τῆς ὀψεως. εὐλαβήθη γὰρ ὅλως αἰσθητικὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν περίξ ἀέρα, καίτοι τὴν γε σάρκα σαφῶς ὁρῶν αἰσθητικὴν γιγνομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀφικνουμένης εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυνάμεως. Clearly Galen is throughout the passage thinking of Aristotle *de Anima* II, chap. 11, and especially of 423 B 17: ὅλως δ' ἔοικεν ἡ σὰρξ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα, ὡς ὁ ἀῆρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν καὶ τὴν ὁσφρησιν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητήριον ὥσπερ ἐκείνων ἕκαστον. Galen approves the Aristotelian conception which makes the affection the result of a qualitative alteration; he objects to the passive rôle assigned to the sense organ, however. That is, he says Aristotle caused this alteration to proceed from the object to the organ of sight because he did not want to make

the air αἰσθητικόν. Clearly Galen means that the air ought to play the same part in vision as the flesh does in touch.⁶ Now Galen here says that Aristotle recognizes that flesh becomes αἰσθητική under the influence of the πνεῦμα from the brain. Aristotle himself, however, calls it merely τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ ἀπτικού προσπεφυκός, "the cohering medium of touch"; i. e. an ὄργανον προσπεφυκός. Consequently, here is applied to flesh the same adjective (αἰσθητική) which, when applied to the solar ray, so impressed Reinhardt. Galen claims that the air is analogous to the flesh as represented by Aristotle, that it, too, is an ὄργανον προσπεφυκός. Not all air, but only that which is lighted up! But even lighted air is not in itself a sense organ as might be thought from the rather careless remark (p. 641) πεφωτισμένος γὰρ ὑφ' ἡλίου τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤδη τῆς ὀψεως ὄργανον. It is such an instrument only καθ' ὃν ὁρῶμεν χρόνον (p. 616), only while the πνεῦμα is streaming out at the eye. The solar ray and the πνεῦμα are alike in two respects. They are both luminous; they both assimilate air instantaneously throughout its extent to their respective natures. The action of both is necessary to make the air an organ of sight; and so each may be called αἰσθητικόν in that each is "concerned with sensation," for strictly not πνεῦμα or solar ray or air alone is "sensitive" any more than is flesh.

If it be necessary to adduce further evidence that Reinhardt misconceives Galen when he says (p. 102) "Nach der Wahrnehmungstheorie Galens, oder des Poseidonios, ist der Strahl selbst wahrnehmend," it is enough to note that Galen (p. 635), approving of Plato's statement that the body of the universe is constructed of fire and earth in order that it may be felt and seen, adds that animals have the tactile organ earthy and the visual organ fiery, and so these organs are capable of alteration, but they would not be capable of sensation unless they had nerves. Obviously τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παντός is without nerves and so without sensation.

The notion that the alteration of the air by the sun is instantaneous is obviously derived from Aristotle's doctrine of the instantaneous affection of the διαφανές by the sun or a similar luminous body. The supposition of this source is confirmed by

⁶ Cf. Galen (p. 641) ὁ ἀήρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁρατῶν διάγνωσιν, οἷον περ τὸ νεῦρον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπτῶν.

Galen himself (p. 637): καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς αὐγῆς αὐτῷ τῷ ψαῦσαι μόνον ὁ πᾶς ἀὴρ ἀθρόως ὁμοιοῦται, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρώματος αὐτίκα μεταβάλλεται. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ὀρθότατα καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλους εἴρηται περὶ τῆς παραχρῆμα μεταβολῆς τῶν οὕτως ἀλλοιουμένων κτλ. The instantaneous alteration produced by the πνεῦμα of the eye is analogous and natural since the πνεῦμα, too, is luminous.

The theory mentioned by Plotinus, then, is that set forth by Galen. But Galen's theory is simply that of Plato influenced in one detail by Aristotle and made more explicit by Galen's better knowledge of the brain and nerves. There is one common Stoic element in it also, the use of the word πνεῦμα instead of Plato's πῦρ. Galen, himself, quotes Plato's description as representing his own theory, and he refers specifically to Aristotle for both parts of what we have presumed to be the Aristotelian element. There is nothing "vitalistic" about the doctrine; and, if this treatise of Galen's represents the theory of Posidonius, then the Posidonian optical theory was not "vitalistic." Since, however, it is uncertain that the notion of instantaneous action is possible for Posidonius, it remains doubtful that Galen's theory is due to him at all.

HAROLD CHERNISS.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

AN INTERPRETATION OF CATO, *AGRICULTURA*, 136.

[An examination of Cato's passage on share-work on the farm (*Agric.* 136) seems to prove that share-renters would receive about one half the grain crop and that grain land was in Cato's day worth about 1000-1100 sesterces the iugerum.]

Politionem quo pacto dari oporteat. in agro Casinate et Venafro, in loco bono, parti octava corbi dividat, satis bono septima, tertio loco sexta; si granum modio dividet, parti quinta. in Venafro, ager optimus nona parti corbi dividat. si communiter pisunt, qua ex parte politori pars est, eam partem in pistrinum politor. hordeum quinta modio, fabam quinta modio dividat.

This interesting passage has been misunderstood at several points. On the one hand it is the source of the erroneous statement often repeated that Roman renters received only an eighth of the produce, on the other hand some commentators, Keil for instance,¹ have concluded from it that the *politor* received the eighth merely for weeding a field (*politio*). In order to clear the ground it is well at once to point out the significance of the words *corbi*, *modio*, and *pisunt*. The *corbis* is the basket into which the heads of grain are thrown while harvesting with a sickle.² Hence in the second sentence the reference to shares measured by the *corbis* ($\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$, according to the crop) implies that the *politor* has not only done the weeding³ but also the harvesting. In the next sentence the threshed grain itself is mentioned (*granum*) as divided into shares by the *modius*, the peck measure. Hence in this case the *politor* has weeded, harvested, and threshed the grain, and his share is now a fifth. The word *pisunt*, finally, indicates that at times the *politor* may continue his operations down through the milling stage, in which case the miller is of course paid by both the owner and the *politor* in proportion to the shares of each. I shall then translate the whole as follows:

¹ In his commentary, *ad loc.*, in Vol. II of his edition; Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 173, has the same view.

² Cf. Varro, *R. R.*, 1, 50, 2; Livy 22, 1, 10. Curcio, *La Primitiva Civiltà Latina*, 1929, p. 47.

³ In Italy today one often sees gangs of women hoeing the wheat-fields early in spring (cf. Varro 1, 30). The purpose of the hoeing — never, I think, practiced in our wheat fields — seems to be not only to kill the weeds but also to loosen up the soil and to hinder the escape of moisture.

"How field work (*politio*) ought to be let (to the share-worker). In the district of Casinum and Venafrum, if the soil is excellent, one pays the *politor* an eighth of the unthreshed grain; if the soil is but fair, one pays one seventh; on poor soil, a sixth; if one measures the grain (after threshing) with a peck measure, one gives a fifth. In the Venafran district one pays a ninth on the best land. If the owner and *politor* mill the grain in common, the *politor* pays for grinding at the rate at which he has been paid for his work (i.e. he pays for his portion that goes into the mill). For barley and for beans the owner gives the *politor* a fifth at the threshing."

It may seem strange that, while in the weeding and harvesting the *politor* gets a larger proportion of the crop if the land is poor, his share ($\frac{1}{5}$) does not vary with the yield if he continues his work through the threshing season. But this method of dividing is not unreasonable. In weeding and harvesting the acreage worked is the same whether the crop is good or bad. Hence the percentage of the crop given him varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ so that his share shall be about 8 modii per iugerum, whatever the crop.⁴ But at the threshing the work entailed varies with the yield: the workman has to labor longer over a higher stack of wheat; hence a constant share ($\frac{1}{5}$ of the crop for all the work that he has done) is fairer than if the pay were proportioned to the acreage. This explanation will suffice to show that the *politor* is not merely one who "cleanses" the field. He does more, but it depends on the contract how much more he does; Cato assumes that he weeds and harvests at $\frac{1}{8}$ — $\frac{1}{6}$ of the crop, or weeds, harvests, and threshes at $\frac{1}{5}$ of the crop.

Evidently these facts may help us to reach a fair estimate for share-rental in case the contractor should take over all the work and become a *partiarius*. Certainly the assumption that it was an eighth is very far from correct, for the *politor* was a contractor who did only the work that had to be done in a hurry and by gangs of men. The rest of the work the owner accomplished with his own slaves: the plowing, manuring, sowing, and first harrowing were done before the *politor's* gangs entered. Now we can estimate the cost of most of these processes, for we

⁴The Romans counted on about 50 to 70 modii the iugerum (Varro 1, 44; Cic., *Verr.*, 3, 112). One eighth of 64 is of course the same as one sixth of 48.

know that Cato (ch. 22) counted a day's work of a slave as worth 2 sesterces, that an ox-team could plow a jugerum per day (Pliny 18, 178), that about 5 modii per jugerum were used as seed (Varro 1, 44), that every third or fourth year the land should be manured (Col. 2, 5; 2, 10; 11, 2, 86), that a fair yield was 50-70 modii the jugerum (*ibid.*; Cic., Verr., 3, 112), and that wheat was worth about 3 sesterces the modius. Hence the complete cost of the work per jugerum of wheat-land is about as follows:

the politor gets $\frac{1}{5}$ of the crop for weeding,	
harvesting, and threshing =	c. 36 sest.
owner plows thrice, 3 days with ox-team =	c. 10 sest.
seed, 5 modii =	c. 15 sest.
sowing and harrowing =	c. 5 sest.
manuring, $\frac{1}{4}$ of land every year =	c. 14 sest.
	<hr/>
	80 sest.

Since the yield (c. 60 modii) is worth about 180 sesterces, the share-renter would have to have nearly a half of the crop even if he provided no tools or stock.⁵ The Italian renter today usually gets a half of the crop and I think it likely from the above that the ancient one got at least $\frac{2}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$. Labor was indeed cheap, but with the ancient tools much more arm muscle was needed to till the land, hence the share need not have been less than at present. This fits in well with the explicit statement of Cato three sentences further down regarding share-work in vineyards. The *partiarius* in this case is a real share-renter, for he has his own stock. "He shall take good care of the property, the vineyard, and the grain plot. He shall receive a sufficient amount of hay and fodder for his stock. The rest shall be divided share and share alike." In other words the

⁵ The imperial coloni of Henchir Mettich in Africa generally received $\frac{2}{3}$ of the crop in Trajan's day, but they also gave six days of labor and provided the stock and implements. The *métayage* system is widespread in Italy and France today. On the American farm $\frac{2}{3}$ of the crop—F. O. B. at the nearest station—is now the more usual portion of the renter. It has often been said that the share system was not known in the Republic, but what did renters do before money was coined? In Cato, *Agric.*, 137, the share renting system is mentioned for vineyards and there, though the owner's cost is very heavy, the *partiarius* receives half the crop.

share-renter at Rome, whether on vineyards or on grain lands, probably was a métayer, as is the custom today.

One more estimate. If a jugerum yields 60 modii of wheat, worth about 180 sesterces, and a half of this goes to the renter, the yield to the owner is 90 sesterces per jugerum. If we allow 6% on the price of the land, and a fair charge for the use of the stock, this represents a value of about 1100 sesterces per jugerum for grain land. This agrees fairly well with Columella's price of 1000 sesterces for unimproved land (Col. 3, 3). This estimate may be of some value since we have no explicit price quoted for Italian farm land in the Republican period.

TENNEY FRANK.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE DATING OF THE *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*.

[Aristophanes *Acharnians* 1174-1189 is a parody of Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1183 ff. Hence the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was presented before 425 B. C.]

It is a curious fact that the date of the first presentation of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, the most famous tragedy of antiquity, has not been handed down to modern times. Not only are the *didascaliae* for that year lost, but no statement exists in any ancient author which makes it possible to determine the year in which the play was brought out. As a result modern scholars have resorted to various devices in an attempt to ascertain at least an approximate date. Jebb, in the introduction to his edition,¹ says "There is no external evidence for the time at which the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was first acted. Internal evidence warrants the belief that it was composed after the *Antigone* and before the *Oedipus Coloneus*. The probable limits thus indicated might be roughly given as about 439-412 B. C. More than this we cannot say." There can be little doubt that this represents the opinion of the great majority of Greek scholars at the present time. Recently R. J. Walker has argued² that the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the *Oedipus Coloneus* and the *Antigone* formed a trilogy and that they were all brought out together in the year 411 B. C. It is not my purpose to discuss Walker's theory here. It is enough to say that the evidence which he presents for his conclusions is far from convincing.

Attempts to date the *Oedipus* on stylistic or metrical grounds are naturally unsatisfactory, as is the theory that the mention of the plague in the opening scene was suggested by the great plague of 430 B. C. at Athens. Christ³ rightly rejects all such arguments as too uncertain; but he thinks that a *terminus ante quem* may be found in a passage in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. In *Oedipus Tyrannus* 629 Oedipus exclaims ὦ πόλις πόλις. In the *Acharnians* l. 27 Dicaeopolis utters the same exclamation, which is also found in a fragment of the *Poleis* of

¹ Pp. xxix f.

² *Ichneutae*, pp. 603 ff.

³ *Geschichte der Griech. Lit.*, 6th ed., revised by Schmid, I, p. 332, note 9.

Eupolis quoted by Athenaeus (X, p. 425 B). Christ sees in these words of Aristophanes and Eupolis a parody of the passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. As the *Acharnians* is known to have been produced in 425 B. C. the *Oedipus* would thus be earlier.

It cannot be denied that Christ may be right. At the same time ὦ πόλις πόλις is the sort of exclamation which may have been common on the Athenian stage. But there is further evidence which may be brought forward from the *Acharnians* to prove the correctness of Christ's contention, and it is my object in this brief paper to call attention to it.

It will be remembered that as the comedy develops Lamachus, the exponent of war, is ordered off to guard the passes in a snow storm (ll. 1073 ff.); while Dicaeopolis, the exponent of peace, is invited to dinner with the priest of Dionysus (ll. 1085 ff.). At line 1174 the servant of Lamachus enters with the news that his master has been hurt. The slaves are ordered to heat water and make other preparations to receive him. He had been wounded by a stake while jumping over a ditch and had sprained his ankle and broken his head. When this had happened to him, the slave reports, he uttered a tragic appeal to the Sun believing that his end was near; but other misfortunes followed and now he is being brought to his home. The whole passage runs as follows:

Θε. ὦ δμῶες οἱ κατ' οἶκόν ἐστε Λαμάχου,
 ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ ἐν χυτρινίδῳ θερμαίνετε· 1175
 ὀθόνια, κηρωτὴν παρασκευάζετε,
 ἔρι' οἰσυνπηρά, λαμπάδιον περὶ τὸ σφυρόν.
 ἀνὴρ τέτρωται χάρακι διαπηδῶν τάφρον,
 καὶ τὸ σφυρὸν παλίνωρρον ἐξεκόκκισεν, 1180
 καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσών,
 καὶ Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.
 πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσὼν
 πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι, δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος·
 'ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα νῦν πανύστατόν σ' ἰδὼν
 λείπω φάος γε τοῦμόν, οὐκέτ' εἰμ' ἐγώ.' 1185
 τοσαῦτα λέξας εἰς ὑδρορρόαν πεσὼν
 ἀνίσταται τε καὶ ξυναντᾷ δραπέταις
 ληστὰς ἐλαύνων καὶ κατασπέρχων δορί.
 ὁδὶ δὲ καὶ τὸς· ἄλλ' ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν.

This is clearly a travesty of some tragic scene. Not merely are lines 1184 f., where the tragic parody is obvious, evidence of this, but the whole passage is reminiscent of tragedy. In other words Lamachus has become a tragic hero with a tragic fate. Is the original which suggested this passage extant? I think it is, and that it is to be found in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* lines 1182-1296, that is from the lines where Oedipus knows that he has fulfilled the dreaded oracle to the place where he is brought before the spectators blind, and particularly lines 1252 ff. The comic poet is writing from memory, but the lines (1184 f.)

ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα νῦν πανόστατόν σ' ἰδὼν
λείπω φάος γε τοῦμόν, οὐκέτ' εἴμ' ἐγώ

are strangely suggestive of the cry of Oedipus (*O. T.* 1183)

ὦ φῶς, τελευταῖόν σε προσβλέψαιμι νῦν

and the servant's description of his master's words ἐξήρδα μέλος (*Ach.* 1183) bring to mind the messenger's τοιαῦτ' ἐφυμνῶν (*O. T.* 1275). But it is the passage taken as a whole rather than individual words or phrases which remind me of the lines of Sophocles.

If I am right in seeing in the passage quoted from the *Acharnians* a parody of the famous scene in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Christ's conclusions in regard to the date of the latter play will be confirmed. In other words we shall be justified in believing that the great masterpiece of Sophocles was first acted before 425 B. C.

WILLIAM N. BATES.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E DI ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, N. S. X (LX)
(1932).

Pp. 1-40. I primordii dell'evoluzione poetica e spirituale di Virgilio, VIII: Il poemetto *Ciris* e la poesia mitografica. Augusto Rostagni. An argument for the authenticity of the *Ciris*. The source of Vergil's handling of the myth was the Metamorphoses of Parthenius of Nicaea. Both the *Culex* and the *Ciris* appear as products of the same scholastic and literary environment.

Pp. 41-58. Nuovi frammenti di Filocoro. Massimo Lenchantin. A study of the sources and genuineness of 17 fragments of Philochorus quoted, in Latin version, by Boccaccio, Natale de Conti and Freculphus.

Pp. 59-67. Il primo testamento regio a favore dei Romani. Gaetano De Sanctis. On a published Greek inscription from Cyrene recording the will of Ptolemy VII (Physkon), which, though annulled by subsequent events, is important as the first known example of a testament made by a Hellenistic king in Rome's favor.

Pp. 68-74. Per uno studio su Demostene. Piero Treves. A criticism of some points in Arnaldo Momigliano's study of Demosthenes (*Civiltà Moderna*, 1931). Momigliano's characterization of Demosthenes' policy as the machiavellianism of a very clever opportunist is unacceptable.

Pp. 75-79. I partiti nella elezione di Valentiniano. Arturo Solari. Valentinian's election to the emperorship resulted from a political compromise in which the religious factor was of minor importance.

Pp. 80-91. Miscellanea. I. Note di epigrafia cretese. Gaetano De Sanctis. Notes on three published Cretan inscriptions. II. Nota di epigrafia spartana. Margherita Guarducci. A note on several Spartan inscriptions published in *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, 29. III. Minerva flanatica. Attilio Degrassi. On an inscription to Minerva Flanatica recently found in Istria.

Pp. 92-123. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 124-135. Notes and news.

Pp. 136-144. List of new books received.

Pp. 145-180. I primordii dell'evoluzione poetica e spirituale di Virgilio, IX: La poesia del poemetto *Ciris* e i segni dell'anima virgiliana. Augusto Rostagni. Final arguments for the

authenticity of the Ciris. Its artistic and spiritual qualities are similar to those admittedly Vergilian, and such as Vergil would be expected to reveal on the eve of composing the *Bucolics*.

Pp. 181-193. Gli "eolismi" a Cirene e nella poesia dorica. Alfonsina Braun. Ahrens' explanation of the Doric use of the feminine participial ending *-οῖσα*, that it was a literary convention derived from Lesbian poetry, is found to be unsound. The Doric use is independent and apparently archaic.

Pp. 194-206. Jeronimo di Cardia e la politica di Demetrio Poliorcete. Piero Treves. The papyrus fragment of a letter to Demetrius Poliorcetes (Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, n. 153, frg. 1) is held to be authentic. The letter was not a rhetorical exercise, but a genuine communication from Hieronymus of Cardia, while a subaltern of Demetrius, urging him to raze Thebes after its capture in 291; Hieronymus later inserted it in his history of the Diadochi.

Pp. 207-218. L'appellativo *Imperator*. Mario Attilio Levi. Mommsen's theory that all Roman magistrates *cum imperio* were implicitly *imperatores* and that *imperator* was always translated *αὐτοκράτωρ* is argued to be invalid. The use of *imperator* as a title bestowed upon a general by his soldiers is probably first attested for Scipio Africanus maior; at first perhaps it was not applied to magistrates *cum imperio* while in office. As a permanent title indicating supreme authority, it was first used in the case of Pompey. Only in its later significance was *imperator* translated *αὐτοκράτωρ*.

Pp. 219-221. Nota su *Consul* e *Imperator*. Gustavo Vinay. An attempt to show that inscriptional evidence does not allow us either to affirm or to deny the (in)compatibility of the titles *consul* and *imperator* in the later republic, but that from the case of L. Aemilius Paulus (CIL II 5041) it is certain that a praetor (and so, not unlikely that a consul) could bear the title *imperator* while a magistrate.

Pp. 222-232. Miscellanea. I. L'epigramma festio di Rea. Gaetano De Sanctis. Reexamination, in the light of later interpretations, of a Cretan metrical inscription concerning the goddess Rhea, published by De Sanctis in 1901. II. Archigallus. Arnaldo Momigliano. An argument that the archigalli in the worship of Attis were not instituted by the emperor Claudius but existed before him. III. De Vergilii Georgicon I 321 adnotatiuncula. Onorato Tescari. The line emended to read "ferre hiemem."

Pp. 233-272. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 273-281. Notes and news.

Pp. 282-288. List of new publications received.

Pp. 289-308. Il processo di Agorato. U. E. Paoli. The prosecution of Agoratus (soon after 400 B. C.) on the charge of homicide committed in the service of the Thirty was able to go as far as a trial, despite the previous declaration of amnesty, because of the uncertainties of Attic law arising from the partial survival, along with the *ius civile*, of the *ius sacrum*, which denied to one guilty of homicide the exercise of his social, legal and political rights.

Pp. 309-331. Gli "eolismi" a Cirene e nella poesia dorica (conclusion: see above, pp. 181-193). Alfonsina Braun. The "Aeolisms" apparent in Doric and especially at Cyrene may be traced back to the pre-Dorian population of the Peloponnese, first the Achaeans, then the Aeolians who followed the Achaeans thither from northern Greece. Cyrenaic inscriptions prove that Callimachus' Doric poetry goes back to his native Cyrene, where (as at Syracuse) the special characteristics of the language consist in archaisms preserved from the common Aeolic substratum. Cyrenaic shows traces of the influence of both the later (Ionic) *κοινή* and (more faintly) of the earlier (Doric); the latter influence probably came mostly from Sicily. The text of Callimachus should not lightly be changed in an attempt to remove Ionic forms or those which otherwise seem strange.

Pp. 332-337. La composizione del *De latenter vivendo* di Plutarco. Goffredo Mameli Lattanzi. Third and last of Plutarch's anti-Epicurean writings, the *de latenter vivendo* is a corollary to the other two, in the form of a brief diatribe against Epicurus himself. A comparison with Plutarch's Pythian dialogues indicates a date later than that of these, i. e. after 95 A. D. There is no good reason for thinking it was not intended for publication.

Pp. 338-345. Spigolature da Esichio. Vittorio Bertoldi. Ἀβαρύ and ἀμάρακον, synonymous names of the aromatic herb of Oriental origin, marjoram, would seem related also etymologically, as derivatives from a common radical, which is conjectured to be [a]-mar- (with prothetic a-). The final root is probably to be sought in ancient India, whence the name spread to the Mediterranean basin by way of an Oriental word (presumably of Dravidic origin) related to Sanskrit *maruva* and *maruvaka*. Over the Aegean area and in Sicily the name became diffused by sea in the form ἀμάρακον, while in the interior of Macedonia and Thrace it remained an isolated regionalism in the form ἀβαρύ. For the change -μ:-β- parallels are adduced.

Pp. 346-351. Noterelle storiografiche. I: Per l'età di Ferecide Ateniese. Arnaldo Momigliano. A comparison of Herodotus IV 131-2 and a fragment attributed to Pherecydes of Syros (fr. 174 Jacoby) shows the fragment to belong really to Pherecydes of Athens. Suidas, misled by the apparently early

date of the two works, *Autochthones* and *Exhortations*, which he assigns to the Athenian (and which Momigliano argues are apocryphal), dates him before Pherecydes of Syros and omits mention of his *Histories* (or *Theogony*). Suidas likewise confuses Pherecydes of Leros with the one of Athens. The latter is found to belong to the fifth century, in the time of the Persian wars.

Pp. 352-358. *Il non intervento nel conflitto tra la Persia e Valente*. Arturo Solari. An account of the relations between Rome and Persia, from the treaty of 363 to the time when the emperor Valens, about to invade Persia in order to put an end to king Sapor's treacherous manœuvring to annex Armenia, was prevented by the Goths' threatened advance upon Constantinople.

Pp. 359-368. *La Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi dal 1923 al 1931*. R. Cantarella. A description (by the Director) of the tasks confronting the Office of Herculanean Papyri at Naples. Most important for the future is that of unrolling the worse preserved papyri; the application of the mechanical process hitherto used for those better preserved being impossible, it remains to discover a satisfactory chemical method. The greatest task at present consists in preserving the rolls, but in view of the total illegibility which threatens them money has been set aside for the installation of a photographic plant, with which to secure adequate reproduction of the papyri, first for the Office itself, then for the world at large by means of publication (at least of the more interesting pieces). There remains the scientific utilization of all the material at hand, not so much the rolls still inedited (these are neither many nor very important) as those previously published but now in need of republication in the interest of scientific accuracy. A further desideratum is the publication of Usener's Epicurean glossary, left by him in manuscript. Dr. Fr. Castaldi's subject catalogue of the papyri has reached the first stage of printing. There follows a list of the books and articles of 1923-1931 bearing directly or indirectly upon the material contained in the Herculanean rolls.

Pp. 369-377. *Miscellanea*. I. *Per la cronologia delle "Supplici"* di Eschilo. Bruno Lavagnini. The apparent reflection, in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, of the feeling at Athens about the Persian capture of Miletus and Sparta's defeat of Argos (both in 494) gives a reason for dating the play in 493-490, or, more particularly, in 492 or 491. II. *La reggenza di Cratero*. Piero Treves. The regency of Craterus, though the first after Alexander's death, was one in name only, an empty honor allowed him by Perdicas, who foresaw that Craterus would soon feel it his duty to go to the aid of Antipater in Greece and so leave Asia and the regency. III. *Note sul testamento di Tolemeo Neoteris*. Umberto Ratti. Posthumous note on the will of Ptolemy VII

(Physkon), especially in its legal aspects. (See above also, pp. 59-67.)

Pp. 378-414. Reviews.

Pp. 415-428. Notes and news.

Pp. 429-432. List of new publications received.

Pp. 433-445. *La origine dell' edilità plebea*. Gaetano De Sanctis. The origin of the Roman aedileship is to be sought, not at Tusculum (such a theory involves serious objections), but in Rome itself, where alone there is documented the close connection between the aediles and an *aedes* which is needed to explain their evolution from religious or semi-religious officers to civil officials. Later, in the fourth century, when Rome incorporated Latium, she imposed the institution on Tusculum and other Latin cities. In Rome the (plebeian) aediles were originally no more than wardens of the *aedes Cereris*, but from the temple's great importance as the religious center of the *plebs* they in turn gradually became prominent and acquired all their civil functions.

Pp. 446-461. *Due nuovi testi storici*. Mario Segre. I. A revision, with photograph and textual and historical notes, of the Greek inscription of Telmessus (now at Rhodes) containing a decree in honor of Eumenes II for his victory in 184 B. C. over Prusias and the Galatians under Ortiagon, first published by G. Iacopi in *Clara Rhodos*, II (1932), p. 172, n. 3. Documentary evidence, confirming Pompeius Trogus, that the war against Prusias is identical with that against the Galatians. II. A republishing, with the aid of a photograph (not reproduced here), of another Greek inscription published by Iacopi (*ibid.*, p. 169), important as giving considerable new information about the Rhodian navy and as mentioning for the first time an expedition to Aegila against the pirates, between 260 and 250 B. C.

Pp. 462-484. *La Cronaca Babilonese sui Diadochi*: I. Traduzione. Giuseppe Furlani. II. Commento storico. Arnaldo Momigliano. Italian translation of, and historical commentary on, the neo-Babylonian chronicle first published by Sidney Smith (*Babylon. Hist. Texts* [London, 1924], pp. 124-149) on the basis of two fragmentary cuneiform tablets in the British Museum. The commentary, after dealing with the purely chronological questions raised, devotes itself to a discussion of those points in the document which touch upon the history of the Diadochi. For the years 321-316 the chronicle, in brief, confirms known facts or adds new particulars, but it throws altogether new light upon some of the major events of 311-306, and especially upon Antigonus' campaign against Seleucus and the resulting rebellion of Polemaeus.

Pp. 485-496. Per una nuova edizione di Arnobio. Concetto Marchesi. Suggestions towards a new edition of Arnobius, based upon a complete re-reading of manuscript P by means of a photographic reproduction. A brief characterization of P and a list of more than 130 readings which had escaped attention since the time of the first edition, 1543. What is needed is a more conservative recension, preserving the MS reading wherever possible and elsewhere correcting it more soberly and more warily.

Pp. 497-505. Miscellanea. I. Manibus date lilia plenis . . . (Nota di sintassi). Remigio Sabbadini. A brief study of Vergil's use of the present optative, excluding the potential type. The pure optative never stands alone in the first person singular, but always combined with (a) the rest of a condition (e. g. *dispeream nisi me perdidit*, Catal. 7, 2), or (b) a "desiderative conjunction" (e. g. *neu matri sim causa doloris*, Aen. 9, 216; *quod ut o ludar*, Aen. 10, 631), or (c) an introductory imperative. Two examples of type c are studied more closely: *Date volnera lymphis abluam*, etc. (Aen. 4, 683-5), and *Manibus, date, lilia plenis purpureos spargam flores*, etc. (Aen. 6, 883-6). II. Il proemio del *περὶ φνγῆς* di Favorino. Goffredo Mameli Lattanzi. To explain the introduction of Empedocles, Hercules and Mucius (? Scaevola, the hero of early Rome) in the proem of Favorinus' *περὶ φνγῆς*, it must be assumed that there preceded the portion now extant (the papyrus is acephalous) a general preface on the strength of mind of the wise man. III. Il Consiglio di guerra ad Adrianopoli nel 378. Arturo Solari. The reason for Valens' unwillingness to await the promised arrival of his nephew Gratianus with reinforcements, before the fatal battle of Hadrianople, was their mutual lack of sympathy, the result largely of the uncle's suspicious jealousy of his nephew.

Pp. 506-545. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 546-555. Notes and news.

Pp. 556-568. List of new publications received.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

A. E. GORDON.

MNEMOSYNE LIX, parts 3 and 4.

Pp. 239-248. W. E. J. Kuiper, *Menandri Incerta Fabula*. 70 fragmentary lines, thought to be part of the Canephorus.

Pp. 249-265. G. Vollgraff, *Inscriptiones Traiectenses*. Certain tablets, apparently of the third century, found in Utrecht in 1929. From them it may be deduced that the ancient name of Utrecht was Albiobola, but that this was on the opposite bank from the modern city, or perhaps on the island in the Rhine.

Pp. 266-270. B. A. van Groningen, de Pindari carmine Pythio XI. The first and second victories in the family of Thrasydaeus were won by his grandfather, not his father. Hence the name Pythonicus, for the grandfather would name his son after success at the Delphic game, his first victory. Had Thrasydaeus' father been born later, his name would have been Olympionicus, after the grandfather's second victory.

Pp. 271-306. S. Tromp de Ruiter, de vocis quae est *φιλανθρωπία* significatione et usu. A dissertation on the shades of meaning of the word from the fifth century to the time of the Christian writers.

Pp. 307-308. G. Vollgraff, ad titulum Laconicum. Interpretation of an inscription published in B. S. A. 29, p. 56.

Pp. 309-312. H. Wagenvoort, de Sticho plautina. The play reflects the atmosphere of the families of soldiers returned from the Carthaginian war.

Pp. 313-314. C. Brakman, ad Pervigilium Veneris. Line 9, read: superno; line 22, read: mane totae.

Pp. 315-316. G. Vollgraff, ad Theocritum. 14, 33, read: κόλπῳ ἔπι, θυμήνασα. 26, 28: φροντὶς ἐμοί.

Pp. 317-327. C. Brakman, ad Avienum. Commentary upon a number of passages.

Pp. 328-335. J. D. Meerwaldt, de vocabulo quodam neglecto. Observations on the word *φωτίον*.

P. 336. B. A. van Groningen, de Dionysii erga Rheginos perfidia. Diodorus Siculus, 14, 111, 4, compared to [Aristotle] Oec. 2, 2, 20, p. 1349 b 17.

Pp. 337-361. J. van Ijzeren, de Aeneidos compositione. The interchangeable use of *urbs* and *castra* in the ninth book (which words are not synonyms) is to be attributed to the influence of the "Uräneis" in prose, which preceded the Aeneid in its present form.

Pp. 362-365. B. A. van Groningen, de signis criticis in edendo adhibendis. An exposition of the use of various devices such as points below individual letters, square, curved, and pointed brackets, double brackets, etc., as proposed by a convention of papyrologists in Leyden in September 1932.

Pp. 366-368. B. A. van Groningen, iterum de Cleomene Naucratica. Continued from Mnemos. 53, pp. 101-130.

Pp. 369-393. G. Vollgraff, de titulo Argivo antiquissimo anno MCMXXVIII recuperato. a) The inscription (published in Mnemos. 54) compared with Fourmont's knowledge of the same,

dating from 1729. b) A treatment of the proper names in the inscription.

P. 393. G. V., ad Tyrtæi frag. 12, vs. 10 seq. Punctuate with comma before *ἐν πολέμῳ* instead of after.

Pp. 394-402. G. Vollgraff, de figura mensis Januarii e codice Luxemburgensi deperdito exscripta. The author thinks that the figure which he describes belongs to fasti not of the year 354, but that this date is a terminus post quem.

Pp. 403-421. H. Wagenvoort, de Horatii Epodo nono. This was composed in two sections, the second beginning at verse 21.

Pp. 422-426. C. Brakman, Varroniana. Emendation of 9 passages each in de Re Rustica and Satiræ Menippeæ.

P. 426. G. V., ad B. C. H. 54, p. 43. Notes upon a Calydonian inscription found in 1928 and published in the journal noted above.

Pp. 427-430. C. Brakman, de Juturna et Dioscuris. -tur is patronymic; Diutur is son of Zeus; Diuturna carries the Etruscan suffix -na. Diutures is cognate with *Τινδαροι*. *Τινδαρίδαι* is equivalent to Dioscuri. Juturna is adjectival in Serv. Dan. ad Aen. 12, 139. Therefore Juturna dea means comes Dioscurorum.

P. 430. G. V., de ara Romana in Batavia reperta. The 30th legion in Holland in the third century.

Pp. 431-432. H. I. Rose, de Actæone Stesichoreo. Actæon was not actually clothed by the goddess Artemis in a stag's skin, as reported by Pausanias, but Stesichorus intended to convey that Actæon was metamorphosed into a stag's form.

MNEMOSYNE LX, parts 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-19. C. Brakman, Varroniana. Textual criticism of 53 passages with further grammatical observations.

Pp. 20-40. J. Berlage, de vi et usu vocum *καλὸς κάγαθός, καλοκαγαθία*. The expressions are analyzed in their uses in various authors and in various connections, and approximately equivalent translations are given in Latin and Dutch.

Pp. 41-106. J. G. P. Borleffs, observationes criticae in Terulliani de Paenitentia Libellum. An extensive treatment, including a conspectus librorum and index rerum et verborum. The Codex Trecensis receives much notice.

Pp. 107-112. C. Brakman, ad Columellæ librum decimum. Comparisons are made between passages of the author and those

of Sophocles, Catullus, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Ausonius, etc. The imitations of Vergil are especially numerous.

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Pp. 147-160. C. Brakman, *Vitruviana*. Textual criticism; grammatical observations; characteristic usages.

Pp. 161-169. C. Brakman, *ad Festum quem edidit W. M. Lindsay*. Remarks upon 36 passages.

Pp. 170-178. H. Wagenvoort, *ad Senecae Herculem Furentem*. Textual criticism and commentary upon a number of passages from verse 19 to verse 612.

Pp. 179-192. I. A. Schuursma, *Aeschyli Apologus*. In the Agamemnon, line 717, the "lion" is Helen; it was nurtured by Troy and its inhabitants; οὔτως in line 718 is balanced by πάπαν in line 737.

Pp. 193-198. A. W. Byvanck, *de inscriptionibus Traiectensibus nuper repertis*. Interpretation of some points in the inscriptions at variance with that of Vollgraff in *Mnemos.* 59, pp. 249-265.

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CLAYTON M. HALL.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY.

REVIEWS.

The Platonic Epistles, Translated with Introduction and Notes
by J. HARWARD. Cambridge University Press, 1932.¹

This translation of the Epistles is prefaced by a lengthy introduction, which, after outlining the history of Sicilian affairs previous to the death of the elder Dionysius, deals with Plato's visits and Dion's expedition. The discussion of the genuineness of the Epistles is prefaced by a note on the letters of Timonides and followed by notes on the Socratic Epistles and the literary style of the Platonic Epistles. The translation is followed by notes on the text and Introductory Remarks concerning the circumstances and genuineness of the several letters.

Mr. Harward accepts all the Epistles except the first as genuine; he also is certain that the letters of Timonides were "the reports of a witness who took part in the events." Without entering the debate over the genuineness of the Epistles, I shall call attention to certain questionable portions of the argument in this book. Again and again we are warned that Demetrius, Plutarch, Cicero, and Bentley, who took the letters for genuine, were better able to judge the matter than we are. But will Harward accept the two "Aristotelian letters" with Plutarch, the "letters of Anacharsis" with Cicero, or the first "Platonic Epistle" with Bentley? And Grote, whose "taste" is supposed to create a presumption in favor of the Epistles, says we must accept everything in the tetralogies. Harward goes so far as to call this "an eccentricity."

The tenor of the whole defense is found on pages 72-75. The Epistles, it is argued, show a character such as Plato's might well have been. This, at best a weak argument without external evidence, leaves us more suspicious when we notice that the details are drawn from Epistle VII *only*. To vindicate the philosophical passages Harward says those who rejected the Epistles were neo-Hegelians who as "mystics" disliked the tone of them and objected to the doctrines that mathematics is a necessary propaedeutic to philosophy and that serious thought is not to be found in books. The *argumentum ad hominem* is utterly false in fact as well as irrelevant. According to Harward's own interpretation the philosophy of the Epistles is more mystical than that of the dialogues; and one who objects to the last two doctrines would athetize the Republic and the Phaedrus sooner than the Epistles. The argument is crowned

¹ This review utilizes marginal notes left by Professor Roger M. Jones and conversations which I had with him about the book shortly before he died.

by the statement that "if the philosophy of the Letters is all wrong, the critics of antiquity . . . would certainly have pointed out the discrepancy." Since these commentators were themselves mystics, Harward has laid himself open to the dialectical rebuttal that it was just because they misunderstood the dialogues that they accepted the Epistles.

The most amusing example of circular argument appears on page 47 and again on page 86. The letters are genuine, for Plato's "narrative gives the facts, as they were known from other sources," the latter passage says; and the former page explicitly names these other sources. They are Plutarch and Nepos, both of whom accepted the Platonic Epistles and used them to write their own stories, as Harward himself knows (p. 30).

Like certain other defenders of the Epistles this author insists that it is not sufficient to "produce evidence that they are not likely to be the work of Plato" but that before rejecting a letter we must show how and why it could have been otherwise written. But Epistle I must be rejected and is rejected by Harward, although he admits that it "must remain an unsolved problem." And how is the existence of the obviously spurious dialogues to be explained? Were they dialogues written as exercises in the Academy and mistakenly inserted in the canon? This is Harward's explanation; but how does he know that it is "probable that the composition of dialogues in the Platonic manner was a form of exercise practiced by students of the Academy in its early days?" From the remarks in the Phaedrus about writing—and, even more, from the character Harward gives Plato—it is highly *improbable* that the students were set such exercises. So far as we know, the dialogues written by Plato's pupils were published under their own names; and there is no presumption against the possibility that the *Spuria*—some or all of them—were deliberate forgeries.

The two letters quoted by Diogenes Laertius as written by Archytas did not find their way into the collection of Platonic Epistles; and, since those two letters were probably excerpted "from a collection of fictitious letters," Harward believes that this is an indication that our collection is genuine. But how could a letter *from* Archytas possibly have been taken up into a collection which purported to be not a "Briefwechsel" but letters written *by* Plato? Even Epistle I, if it is a real fourth-century letter, could not get into the canon until the signature was changed.

We should like more evidence than the statement, "there are grounds for supposing," when we read such narratives as that on page 27 which represents Dionysius upholding against Plato a hedonism which "rested on a foundation of materialism."

This is not plausible; to the contrary, since Harward accepts Epistle II, he must know that there Dionysius is said to have agreed with the fundamental doctrines of Platonic idealism, nay even to have claimed the discovery of them as his own. But it is even less plausible that the materialism of Sophist 246 B first met Plato's notice in Syracuse. To take the quarrel of "the friends of the ideas" and "the materialists" as "a reminiscence of controversies at Syracuse between Sicilian or Italian materialists . . . and disciples of the Pythagorean school of Taras" is to betray an utter misconception of Plato's method of recapitulating tendencies in previous philosophy.

The translation of the text is in general an improvement upon previous versions, most of the notorious errors of which Harward has avoided. The verse in 310 A is translated after Burnet's text; but Immisch's conjecture is approved in the notes. However *κλίνει* is too much a part of the apparatus of luxury to be emended out (cf. Herod. 1, 50; 9, 80; Plat. Com. 208). At any rate the phrase "bring assurance" is not in the Greek and *πρὸς ἄνθρωπον* can hardly be "in comparison with a man" in Harward's sense. Bury's *πρὸς ἀνθρώπων* looks more plausible.

In Epistle II the "cryptic passage" at 312 E is considered "the strongest evidence of the genuineness of the letter . . . for the writer was certainly a master of thought and language." Harward claims that Plato in 360 B. C. could truthfully say that his associates "had said nothing against Dionysius." The narrative of Epistle VII, 350 C is softened to this: "Dion had then, no doubt, spoken against Dionysius," and the intimation is that the statement in II is literally true because Dion was not "one of his associates." If such was Plato's attitude, he was, at best, highly disingenuous. In this connection I note Harward's tendency to soften language to rob it of its offensiveness. *σημαίνει . . . ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχω ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων* is translated: "signifies that I have no influence over my associates"; *δόξαν ἔχων πολὺ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διαφέρειν* becomes "with the reputation of being highly distinguished among those engaged in philosophy."

The sentiment of 310 E 5 that wisdom and power "have a natural tendency to combine" is violently unplatonic, and the quotation from Zimmern in the note is more like Plato than the Epistle is. On 311 E the note says, "Godliness is here identified with the intellectual life." This is not true here nor in the passages cited from the Timaeus and the Laws; the notion throughout is that to philosophize is *εὐσεβές* because philosophy is the study of the nature of godliness and so a *means* to the *ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*. *τὸ πρᾶγμα τί τὸ ἐμὸν ἐστίν* (312 A) is translated "what my system was." In the note on 340 B 8 it is said that *τὸ πρᾶγμα* "was perhaps part of the current slang of the Academy," and for this

"philosophical meaning" of the phrase several parallels are cited. But in *Phaedo* 61 C and *Theaetetus* 168 B τὸ πρᾶγμα means "philosophy" only because φιλόσοφος immediately precedes it. *Phaedrus* 232 E is no parallel, for there it does *not* mean "philosophy"; but that passage shows how the phrase was used, like "thing," "business," "matter" in English, to pick up any preceding concept. Here in 312 A, as in *Apology* 20 C, τὸ πρᾶγμα means simply "business," "affair," and in 340 B πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα means "the whole subject" and not "philosophy in all its extent."

The "sphere" of 312 D is said to have been an attempt on the part of Dionysius to illustrate by an orrery the movements of the sun, moon, and planets in accordance with the theory of Eudoxus. Since the evidence seems to show that the model of Eudoxus did not illustrate the planetary motions (*Cicero*, de Rep. XIV 21), it is highly improbable that Dionysius ever made a sphere which did.

In 312 D 7 τοῦ πρώτου is certainly *not* "the soul" but ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς of 312 E 1. The attempt to explain this passage is amusing in view of the fact that the author says he is speaking "in riddles" in order that "he that readeth may not understand." I shall merely point out that the translation at 312 E 5 "looking for things akin to itself" should be "looking at things akin to itself," and that the doctrine, as Harward interprets it, is opposed not only to the dialogues but to *Epistle VII*. For here ultimate realities are not akin to the soul; but *Epistle VII* 342 D says they *are*, and Harward himself in notes 86 and 109 on *Epistle VII* shows that such is also the doctrine of the dialogues. Perhaps ὧν οὐδὲν ἰκανῶς ἔχει means *not* "none of which has real sufficiency" but "none of which it fully grasps" (cf. Rep. 477 A, 505 A). This would resolve one difficulty; but we should fall into the same trap at the τοιοῦτον of the next sentence.

At 313 C περὶ τὸ φανταζόμενον is not "in the region of the apparent" but "about the appearance"; and at 314 D 5 ὥς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι is "as some imagine," not "as some consider themselves to be."

At 314 A 7 there is a long note which by "parallels" from Luther, James, and Newman defends the "mysticism" of a passage which means only that the doctrine presented is too hard for even an intelligent man to understand without years of study. Harward does not mention Bury's note on the historical difficulty of the "men who studied 30 years." I think the number is lifted from the *Republic* where, from the time men begin higher studies at the age of 20 to the beginning of real philosophical reflection at 50, there is a period of 30 years.

Epistle III, Harward thinks, is a pamphlet intended to con-

vince the "allies" that the claims Dionysius was making concerning his previous intentions are untrue. (It is confusing to read at the top of page 176 that the letter is "addressed to a limited audience" and at the bottom of the same page that it is a "public pamphlet.") In 317 C διὰ σέ is not "on your behalf" but "at your instigation."

In Epistle VI no mention is made of Professor Shorey's interpretation of καὶ γέρων ὦν at 322 D 5. It is to be found in *Classical Philology* X, pages 87-88. At 323 C αὐτῇ is to be supplied from above with χρῆσθαι. The meaning is "and use it (i. e., the letter) as a compact." The troublesome "oath in jest and earnest" is defended by parallels which show that Plato often coupled "jest" and "earnest"; but I do not see that they intimate any tendency on his part to take an oath about a serious matter with a mixture of earnestness and sport.

Epistle VII, Harward says, is in reality not a letter to Dion's friends, who indeed never asked Plato for advice, but an open letter "not for Sicily but for Athens." The "eccentricities of arrangement" he explains on this ground, and the epistolary form he makes merely a literary device as Bury does. The "philosophical digression" is not explained at length; but in this connection passages from Taylor's article in *Mind* are quoted; and evidently Harward takes that explanation as a final vindication of these passages. At 324 B 8 a note defends the "digression" as "characteristic of the old age of Plato." But if ἔσχεν in 324 A 7 mean not "which he then formed" but "which he acquired" (that is, got from Plato), there is no real digression at all. This Howald seems to have meant in his note on 324 B 5.

At 326 C οὐχ οὕτως θαυμαστῇ φύσει κραθήσεται means "none will be found to possess a nature so admirably compounded." The mixture is hardly one of riotous living and philosophy, as Harward's translation implies. In 327 C αὐτοῦ of A should be read in place of Burnet's αὐ τοῦ, and the meaning is "if he himself become such a person." There are slight mistakes which destroy the sense in 332 A 6 and 332 B 6. The first should be: "For Darius, though he trusted men who were not his brothers or his wards but only his confederates, . . ." The second means: "The Athenians maintained their rule for 70 years over many Greek cities which had been attacked by the barbarians, and they did so despite the fact that they had not founded them but had taken them over as existing cities."

At 340 D τροφῆς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν means "daily fare" and in D 5 ἐν αὐτῷ goes with λογίζεσθαι, not with νήφοντα. At 341 B 4 one translation is given in the text and a very different one in the note. At 341 C 7 the translation, following Taylor, reads: "suddenly a light, as it were, is kindled in one soul by a flame

that leaps to it from another." Certainly there is no intimation of *two* souls in the Greek, and it is doubtful method to insist that two souls must be meant because otherwise the passage "would be Neoplatonic rather than Platonic."

At 342 D I miss a note saying that here there are ideas of artificial objects, a characteristic of the theory of the *Phaedo* and at variance with Aristotle's account; and I wonder why this fact, so damaging to the notion of a "later Platonic doctrine," is slurred over. The meaning of 343 B 2-3 is "and they will be no less permanent for men who shift them around and call them by opposite names"; οὐδὲν ἥττον βεβαίως ἔξειν cannot mean "nothing will be less permanent (than a name)."

It is amazing to see in the note on 344 B 3-7 the statement that Socrates' experience in *Symposium* 220 C-D was a "trance." That ghost I thought had been laid forever; and I wonder, since Harward makes the culmination of the dialectic a mystical experience, why he thought "mystics" disliked the tone of the *Epistles*.

In *Epistle VIII* Harward reasonably argues that the reference to Dion's son cannot be explained by the introduction of the posthumous son and also that Dion's son died before his father's murder. He solves the problem by supposing that Plato had not heard of the death of the son, and to make this supposition he has to assume that no letters were sent to Plato from the time of the boy's death until the Dionean party removed to Leontini (p. 195). But how, then, did Plato know the facts about the crime of Callippus and the alliance of the Dioneans with Hipparinus? For on page 193 it is supposed that this alliance was made before the Dioneans were forced to retire to Leontini and that it was at this time that *Epistle VIII* was written. However, the whole matter is confused when on page 195 it is implied that the coalition was made after the retirement to Leontini (lines 26-27).

In 354 B 7 τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς depends on σωτήριον, not on δεσμὸν; 354 E 5 should read: "Servitude to God is moderate, that to men is immoderate servitude." At 359 B 4 σύμβασις is said to have become "a Stoic term in the sense of 'occurrences'." The word does not occur, however, in the Stoic fragments at all; and I find it in this sense nowhere except in this epistle.

The matter of safeguarding the notes mentioned in *Epistle XIII* Harward believes to refer to an agreement between Plato and Archytas to keep such notes from Dionysius. Then Plato must have suffered a queer change since writing *Epistle II* which contains the same sort of injunction to secrecy on philosophical matters, there addressed to Dionysius who is treated as an initiate and warned to keep Plato's communications from the uninstructed.

In 362 A 4 the introduction of the phrase "on your behalf" after "If I have to incur any public expenditure" is gratuitous; and the note, "There is no doubt that this is the meaning," I cannot accept as an excuse for rewriting a text, even though the text as it stands may make us uncomfortable about the author's character.

The sentence at 362 C 5-7 is rather clumsy Greek; but it means, I think, the following: "Those who bring you reports at each time are unwilling to report anything which they think entails expense."

HAROLD CHERNISS.

Der Glaube der Hellenen. Von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. II. Band, 1932. Pp. xii + 620.

Among the papers which were found on the author's desk after his death there was one which bore the following significant words, which were to form part of the preface which he did not live to write:

"Die Synthese nimmt die gewonnenen Einzelergebnisse zusammen und gelangt so zu einem Vollbilde. Sie ist unentbehrlich, rückt vieles einzelne erst in das rechte Licht und kann sagen, dass die analytische Forschung nur Vorarbeiten für sie liefert. Aber sie reizt zu neuer Forschung, und je stärker sie es tut, um so mehr genügt sie nicht mehr. Eine neue wird nötig, und so geht es weiter, so lange Leben in der Wissenschaft ist."

This is an admirable account of the method of fruitful scholarship. As, in the Moorish legend, the magical taper must burn while the magical incantation is read if the enchantment which binds the hidden treasure is to be broken, so analysis and synthesis must work together if scholarship is to attain a worthy end. Analytical research alone runs into the desert, and its waters are lost in the sands. Attempts at comprehensive synthesis which are not fed by the waters of research produce only a mirage of falsehood and error. One scholar may ply one of these trades, and another may ply the other; but neither can ply his trade without the support of the other. Best of all is when both trades are plied by the same man. Such men are few, and among the greatest in recent times is Wilamowitz. With him, synthesis and analysis are but two aspects of the same operation. So it is in his last great book, which presents fresh analyses of a multitude of special topics and a fresh synthesis of the accumulated knowledge of Greek religion. He leaves it to the world, not as a definitive treatise on a great subject, but as a challenge to

those who come after him. So he passes on the torch. *ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή.*

It must be acknowledged that the synthesis which we find in this book is not of the kind which unites its materials in a compound whose qualities are different from the qualities of the components. It is not a chemical compound. It does not present a new and unified view of a vast subject. It is an aggregate of the many parts of the subject, which pass before us in chronological order, each, however, conceived in its relation to the whole. Nothing else was possible in a history which traces the faith of the Greeks through a thousand years. But in another sense a synthesis is accomplished, because the book brings religion into relation with the many other elements of a composite civilization.

Indeed, in the course of his journey of a thousand years, the author finds occasion to express his views on a bewildering number of subjects, not only subjects of religious significance, but all conceivable subjects of interest to a student of antiquity. With the help of the admirable indices one may consult the book on almost any topic with a reasonable hope of discovering the author's opinion. It is not a book to be read once and then allowed to gather dust on the shelf. But there is little help to be obtained from it in a bibliographical way. The reader is generally assumed to know the important work that has been done on any topic under discussion. The veiled allusions to such work are often so cryptic that they will be understood only by the specialist. The author has not attempted to popularize, even in the good sense of the word.

Although in notes made during his last illness the author expressed regret for repetitions and omissions which there was no time to correct, the reader may feel that he has before him the authentic work of Wilamowitz down to the last half-dozen pages. The editor, Günther Klaffenbach, gives a full account of the state of the text, for the publication of which he is responsible. The author himself had completed the proof-reading of the first chapter (pp. 1-260). The second chapter (pp. 261-427) was already in press at the time of his death. The manuscript of the greater part of the third chapter (pp. 428-526) was complete, as was also the manuscript of the three Beilagen (pp. 533-548). For the last pages of the third chapter (pp. 526-532), on Porphyry and the causes of the triumph of Christianity, the editor had at his disposal only notes and jottings. He himself prepared the analytical *Übersicht des Inhalts*, and the very full indices are by the experienced hand of Hiller von Gaertringen.

The last chapter of the first volume is entitled "*Homerische Götter*", and the second volume takes up the story of Greek religion after Homer. The first chapter, "*Panhellenische*

Götter", begins with subjects which still have some of the difficulty of the prehistoric, the cult of heroes, the Delphian Apollo, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and Dionysus, and then proceeds through the sixth and fifth centuries to Plato. In the second chapter, "Weltgeltung und Niedergang des Hellenentumes", we are carried through the third, second, and first centuries B. C. to the death of Hellenism. In the third chapter, "Restauration und Untergang des Hellenentumes", the first three centuries of the Empire are reviewed.

Naturally the second volume does not offer the reader the excitement which is stirred by the imaginative reconstructions of the first volume. It travels over more familiar ground and deals with matters for which there is direct evidence. But these matters are often enough controversial, and though at times the author is satisfied to adopt well-known views, at other times he offers opinions which are distinctly novel. Not infrequently he withdraws opinions which he had expressed in earlier books, acknowledging that he had been wrong, and speaking as contemptuously of his own mistakes as he speaks of the mistakes of others.

Judgment concerning the opinions and conclusions which are expressed will be rendered from time to time by specialists in the many fields of which a glimpse is offered us. One must admit, with resignation, that this is not in the power of a single reviewer, nor is it possible within the space of a single review. Only one passage is selected for remark.

The discussion of the puzzling figure of Orpheus and the things associated with his name runs directly counter to traditional views. If the opinions which are here expressed prevail, many pages in many books where Orphism is lightly referred to will have to be rewritten. Wilamowitz recognizes that Orpheus was a legendary singer and poet; that there were poems existent in classical times which passed as Orphic; that there were *teletae* which were supposed to have originated with Orpheus; and that in the end everything mystical was attached to his name. But he insists that he is not to be regarded as the founder of a religion; that he had nothing to do with the Dionysiac mysteries; and that there is not the slightest ground for regarding him as the source for the myths of Plato. He now admits that he was wrong in calling Od. XI, 566-630 Orphic, and in believing that the reconstitution of the Eleusinian Mysteries was accomplished under Orphic influence. "Die Modernen reden so entsetzlich viel von Orphikern. Wer tut das im Altertum? . . . Aber was Orpheus bei den Modernen geworden ist, mag ich nicht verfolgen. Er hat heute seine Gläubigen, und der Qualm des Orphismus (das neue Wort haben sie sich erfunden) liegt schwer über dem Licht der alten Götter wie zu Zeiten des Iamblichos. . . . So baut die Kritik auf dem Grunde absoluter Kritiklosigkeit."

It is gratifying to see the empty bubble of Orphism pricked thus, and I believe that these heresies will show the way to the truth. But the slight suggestions concerning the source of the myth of Orpheus are not so convincing. Indeed, the same may be said for the interpretation of other myths in the course of the book. The "junghistorisch" school of "Mythendeutung", of which Wilamowitz was a leader, follows a more rational method than the old solar hypothesis and rests on solid ground than anthropological analogies; but it should not be forgotten that its reconstructions are often sheer guess-work. They may "save appearances" and still lack anything like positive proof.

IVAN M. LINFORTH.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Le Mura di Roma Repubblicana. By GÖSTA SÄFLUND. Skrifter utgivna av svenska Institutet i Rom, Vol. I. Lund, 1932. (Oxford University Press.) Pp. x + 278, 28 plates, 72 text figures, unnumbered plan as frontispiece.

The Swedish Institute in Rome has opened its series of publications auspiciously with Säflund's monumental work on the walls of Republican Rome. The book contains an invaluable collection of source material with discussion which is always interesting and often entirely convincing. The first part sets forth in five chapters the data on which all theories must be based, while the author's deductions are reserved for the later sections. Chapter V of Part II belongs in its nature with Part I, since it consists of ancient texts which have an obvious bearing on the walls and gates of the city. We can not be too grateful to the author for printing the full text of most of the passages; they add little to the bulk of the book and much to the convenience of the reader; but it is puzzling to find that in a few cases he has broken his excellent rule of full quotation. (See, for instance, Number 22, page 211.) The first chapter describes all existing or recorded sections of the wall and establishes a label by which each may be designated in later references. In the list are some Aventine blocks uncovered in 1926 (A, C—page 22 with note 1) which bore mason's marks. The latter are included in a valuable record of all such signs in the second chapter. The ominous note "non piu constatabili" on some of them shows that the record has been made none too soon. A table giving the relative chronology of the different sections of the wall concludes a chapter on the building materials and quarries (page 132). With this it would be hard to quarrel, but many will be unable to follow the writer in attributing so

much to the last century of the Republic in his later discussion of absolute dates. (For a criticism of his treatment, see a review of the Platner-Ashby Topographical Dictionary by Axel Boethius in *Gnomon*, 1932, pages 235 ff.) As part of the source material, Sâflund has wisely included a description of the nature and original contours of the hills. At the end of Part I, he gives a survey of miscellaneous archaeological discoveries which may help to establish a chronology or throw light on the original line of the fortifications.

The arrangement of material so copious and of such varied nature is a difficult problem. The plan here adopted effects as complete a separation as possible between the description of the remains and the theories of the author. The system avoids more serious evils at the price of re-handling the same material in several places. Exact cross-references would have done much to counteract an inconvenience which is made more acute by the fact that the pages are hard to thumb, being large, limp, and with uneven edges. A page reference is not much more difficult to set down than the often repeated "in seguito". The indices are full and helpful. Copious illustrations include some useful material from Parker's old photographs and sketches from Lanciani's notebooks.

From the discussion of the site it appears clear that Rome did not grow great because it possessed a good situation for a large city. Sâflund points out the obstacles both to military defense and to large-scale city planning which the hills and valleys created. He clings, however, to the belief that for primitive times, the peculiar topography of the place was advantageous. It is hard to see anything but drawbacks in the situation after the limits of a single hill had been exceeded, and that happened early according to the common opinion. For separate villages the hills are too close for comfort, and yet they must have existed under difficulties for a long time before they overcame the obstacles to a union. The causes which forced a development in such an unpromising place have not been sufficiently studied. Sâflund is right in emphasizing the importance of the hydrographic map of the city. In a brilliant article which appeared at almost the same time as Sâflund's book Von Gerkan also stresses this. (*Röm. Mitth.* 1931, pp. 169 and 170 with notes.) The only difficulty is that Von Gerkan's map disagrees in some features with Lanciani's, which Sâflund reproduces from *Ruins and Excavations*. It is hard to see on what possible evidence the exact line between wet and dry in primitive times can now be drawn, and in some matters a difference of a few feet is important. Consider, for instance, the situation of the Pons Sublicius according to the two maps, and the picturesque detail that according to Lanciani's scheme Von Gerkan's Porta Flumentana

would more than justify its name by standing in the water. Yet even the most general picture of the swamp and the high ground is illuminating. The Tiber is justly dismissed as a commercial asset, but unjustly slighted as a protective barrier by both Sâflund and Von Gerkan, who follow the lead of Leopold in minimizing the importance of the river to the city. (See Von Gerkan, o. c. page 170, note 4.)

The demolition of the sixth-century city which began when Tenney Frank took the *cappellaccio* blocks out of the wall has gone on apace until now according to the most recent findings there is no wall left at all—only escarpments of the separate hills with earth works and a *fossa* to protect the weak northeast approach to the city. In obedience to the law of the equal and opposite reaction we have swung back from a comparative faith in the traditions to the attitude of a century ago when the general feeling of historians and topographers was that expressed by Von Gerkan (o. c. page 158), "Rom kann im sechsten Jahrhundert nicht eine solche Grossstadt gewesen sein". (See also Sâflund, page 248 and Boethius in the review cited above.) Opinions on the primitive state of the city are still based so much on theory that the swing from one extreme to the other may go on indefinitely unless by a very improbable chance some conclusive evidence may yet be unearthed and interpreted by an ingenious scholar. Meanwhile, in using arguments from analogy, it is the part of caution to remember that no city which has preserved traces of its ancient fortifications offers a real parallel for Rome,—not Ardea or Veii where the heights and the lowlands are differently related and where there is no considerable river; not Minturnae where there is no considerable hill; and certainly not Syracuse where, to say nothing of a different people and a different degree of sophistication, a sea beach creates a different set of possibilities.

LOUISE ADAMS HOLLAND.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

Vergil's Troy. By W. F. JACKSON KNIGHT. Oxford, Blackwell, 1932. Pp. 158.

This small volume is one of the most thought-provoking in the excellent series of *Vergilian Studies* published by Basil Blackwell. The author discusses with poetic feeling and appreciation various problems that emerge from the study of the second *Aeneid*, and draws interesting parallels and illustrations from modern science, philosophy, and literature. Much of his material is a restatement of theories which he has recently published in classical periodicals.

The longest chapter, comprising about one-third of the volume

(pp. 8-54), contains a searching examination of Vergil's use of meter and the various poetic effects which he achieved. The first part of the chapter is general and deals with emotional flexibility, falling rhythm, the use of open *a* and *e* sounds to express sadness, the use of the hissing *ss* to express hatred, and especially the texture of the Vergilian hexameter. By texture the author means the relation of the stress accent to the metrical ictus; metrical feet in which the stress accent and the ictus coincide are "homodyned" and have a quality of freedom; when they do not coincide, the foot is "heterodyned" and gives an impression of resistance, effort, or conflict. It is in the fourth foot of the hexameter where the question of texture is of the greatest importance; in the fourth foot Vergil uses 1) an alternation of homodyne and heterodyne, 2) a "released movement", i. e. a series of lines, beginning with heterodyne and ending with homodyne. By his use of the "released movement" Vergil is able to harmonize thought and rhythm to a high degree.

In the second part of the chapter the author applies these principles to the verse of the second *Aeneid*. Here he is necessarily much more subjective and at times less convincing. The value of the presentation of an elaborate scheme for heterodyne and homodyne (e. g., p. 32) may be questioned. The explanation of such a scheme seems far too subtle, and I wonder if there is not a tendency to read into the sounds of the syllables and into the texture of the verse a meaning that comes subconsciously from the meaning of the word itself. Moreover, if homodyne expresses freedom and heterodyne conflict and resistance (p. 18), how does it happen that heterodyne also expresses calm sadness (p. 39) and homodyne is used for fiery horror (p. 45)? Apparent discrepancies such as these make it less easy to share the author's confidence in the value of his analyses.

In the chapter entitled *Epic Tragedy* (pp. 55-70) there is a discussion of the dramatic qualities of the second *Aeneid*. In dealing with the legends (pp. 71-104) the author makes a minute study of Vergilian integration (i. e. the transfer and transmutation of the earlier legends into new poetic material), using as a basis the epics of Quintus and Tryphiodorus. These two poets, he believes, are independent of Vergil, but represent two different traditions, both of which were known to the Roman poet. By a study of his agreement, now with Quintus, now with Tryphiodorus, Vergil's use of these earlier sources can be clarified. The great weakness in this theory seems to me to be the assumption that the two Greek poets are utterly lacking in originality and follow their sources so blindly that it is possible to reconstruct from them the traditions which Vergil followed. Moreover, the author's criticisms of Vergil for imperfect adjustment of his legendary material are not always sound. For

example, he condemns ii 199-200 because "nothing else terrible has occurred" (p. 85). This ignores Vergil's statement in ii 195-198 that the belief in Sinon's treacherous words resulted in the capture of the city.

The title of the last chapter, *The Events* (pp. 105-140), is misleading, for the chapter deals almost entirely with the original significance of the wooden horse. The author believes that the purpose of the horse was magical, not military, and that the wall was a magic circle which must be broken if the attack was to succeed. He ranges widely over the fields of early history, folklore, and magic, and presents an array of convincing arguments fully documented. The theories expressed are very ingenious, but seem at times too fanciful, as when supernatural significance is attached to the death of Astyanax (pp. 138 f.).

Although the book as a whole merits the attention of all Vergilian scholars, there are numerous other statements with which many will disagree. The author says, "Of all the work of Vergil, the second *Aeneid* is the easiest part to love" (p. 1); this is purely subjective. It is extremely doubtful if Vergil, in ii 586 f., "explicitly faces and denies the imputation" of cowardice from an unfavorable alternative version (p. 41). The statement that "Vergil's pure comedy seems to occur only in the alternate books which carry odd numbers" (p. 42) is not only too ready an acceptance of Professor Conway's theory, but implies too conscious a manipulation of the books on Vergil's part; we must remember, as Mr. Knight himself says, that "a great part of Vergil's creative process happened in some unconscious part of his mind" (p. 74). Few will agree with the interpretation of *nostri* (p. 66) in the phrase *quonam nostri tibi cura recessit*?

These are unimportant points which detract but little from the value of the book. A more important question of Vergilian criticism is involved in the statement: "What the poet may have intended to commit to his poetry has little relevance, beside what, with due care and education, we find in it" (p. 5). This viewpoint is dangerously subjective. Unless the education which we bring to the careful reading of the poetry has included a study of the poet's aims, the interpretation of the poetry is apt to go far astray. Especially in the *Aeneid* is a knowledge of the purpose of the poet essential, in so far as it lies in our power to acquire that knowledge.

This volume is more fully documented than most of the books in the series. It is unfortunate, however, that more than four hundred notes are compressed into thirteen pages at the end; it would have been much more convenient for the reader had they been printed at the foot of the page.

The Sounds of Latin: A Descriptive and Historic Phonology.
By ROLAND G. KENT. (Language Monographs XII.)
Baltimore, Waverly Press, 1932. Pp. 216.

Professor Kent has given us the most extensive modern treatment of Roman sounds which is at the same time descriptive and historical, containing also a chapter on the alphabet and extensive bibliographies. The wealth of material in it is much greater even than would be indicated by its 212 pages of medium and small type, for the author has used schematic devices which have saved a large amount of space.

As stated by the writer in his preface, his object is not only to give an up-to-date treatise on Latin Phonology, but he wishes his work also to serve as a basis for courses on the subject. He thus has a pedagogical as well as scientific purpose, and this suggests a few comments from both points of view.

That a work from Professor Kent's pen will rank high in accuracy and reliability, is self-evident, and criticisms would concern mainly the question of the correctness of his personal views which naturally have been incorporated into the book. However, even in this respect it would lead too far astray to discuss the fairly large number of instances in which he has formulated phonetic laws differently from others, for no good could come from mentioning these except with extensive citation of material. There is, however, one important instance, in case of which most readers will disagree, sc., in his presentation of his own and Abbott's theory concerning the Latin accent (p. 66), in connection with which we are asked to believe that Roman children were so different from others that instead of ridiculing their Greek teachers for their foreign sing-song, they actually and seriously imitated them, so that the Greek accentuation displaced the native Roman type in the upper classes.

Actual slips and errors appear to be very rare. I have noticed the bibliographical note on page 31, which seems to imply that the author considers the so-called "editio minor" of a part of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG²) as a revision of the old corpus of Boeckh (CIG), and has forgotten about the existence of the main collection of Greek inscriptions (IG).

On the pedagogical side the reviewer, though not doubting the usefulness of the work generally, has some misgivings. The schematic form of the historical part is such that it is not apt to arouse the interest of the beginner in sounds as living things, and the almost algebraic condensation of facts not infrequently makes it impossible for the student to interpret rightly without much help. Note e. g. § 133, omitting cross-references, which make the appearance still more formidable to the student: I. pIt. $p < pIE$ p , ph and bh after stops and s -sounds, pw , pIt. b

before *s t p*, *tw*-, parasitic in *-ml*-. To interpret this one needs the full equipment of a linguist with knowledge of Latin phonology. To the student it might mean a number of different things. Often under similar conditions he could not know whether the writer was giving a paragraph heading or some phonetic laws in condensed form.

In his description of Latin pronunciation the author has, generally speaking, followed the phonetic method, though not rigidly so. Of course the use of the phonetically inaccurate terms *open* and *close* applied to vowels could not have been avoided when referring to sounds of languages no longer spoken, and for the same reason we cannot take exception to his use of the phonetically inaccurate vowel triangle (p. 22), which e. g. gives us no information as to what it means to place *u* midway between *i* and *u*, for it does not tell us what is the nature of the movements of articulation which it has in common both with the former and the latter. Sometimes on the other hand a certain vagueness of phonetic description is much more difficult to account for, e. g. what does it mean to say (p. 60) that Lat. consonantal *i* was less strongly consonantal than Engl. *y*?

Nothing would be gained by enumerating mere differences of opinion, of which there are naturally not a few, e. g. the reviewer is not so certain as Professor Kent that doubled consonants merely designate long consonants, but fails to see any valid objection to the opinion that doubling usually has to do with syllabic division, i. e., that doubled consonants in Latin were geminates.

It need not be said that these various minor criticisms and differences of opinion do not in any way interfere with the high opinion the reviewer holds concerning the accuracy as well as serviceability of Professor Kent's book.

WALTER PETERSEN.

Studi Virgiliani. Pubbl. della Accad. Virg. di Mantova, 1930.
Serie Miscellanea, Vol. IX. Pp. 267. 4°.

This bimillennial volume suffers somewhat from the diffidence that is apt to beset scholars who do assigned tasks, but the assignments were on the whole wisely made, and most of the papers are worth at least a hasty glance. Without enumerating the protreptic essays — all well written — we may mention a few that proffer substance. Birt inquires once more — for the third time, he says — whether Vergil wrote the *Culex*. As before he uses stylistic and metrical arguments and again reaches negative conclusions. Ghisalberti contributes an interesting study of the Vergilian commentary of Benvenuto da

Imola, which students of the Renaissance will find worth while. Edgar Martini thinks that Suetonius is the source of Macrobius' statement that Vergil had the aid of Parthenius in his Greek studies. He just falls short of proving it. Paul Jahn argues that Catalepton IX is probably Vergilian and was certainly written before 29 B. C. Pohlenz writes on the tenth eclogue, arguing against the interpretations of Skutsch and Leo. His main point is that, as Gallus wrote "variations" on Euphorion's themes, introducing a personal subjective note into the elegy, so Vergil, not without humorous intention, used the bucolic form in writing a variation on an elegy of Gallus. The essays of Curcio on *L'Accoglienza di Didone ad Enea*, of Galdi on *Virgilio Coturnato* (Martial 5, 58), and of Cessi on *Imitazione ed originalità nell' arte Virgiliana* are of a more general nature.

M. Tulli Ciceronis ad Atticum. Epistularum Libri Sedecim. Fasciculus Tertius. Libri IX-XII. Recensuit H. Sjögren. Upsala, 1932. Pp. 210. 8°. Kr. 6.75.

Here we have the third fascicle of Sjögren's editio major of the letters to Atticus. It gives us books 9-12 and, like its predecessors, contains a very full apparatus criticus based chiefly on the editor's own collations. As every one knows, this edition must become the basis of all future work on these letters.

The text is of course conservative; the editor seldom permits himself to adopt one of his own conjectures and when he does, as in the emendation of the meaningless *carti* to *κάρτεi*, in 10, 10, 3, one is satisfied that it will stay. As usual he has preferred, whenever possible, to remove a crux by justifying the manuscript reading. So in 9, 9, 3 he retains *sententia consularis* with the brief but adequate comment: *sententia scil. mea, viri consularis*.

With this edition in hand scholars ought now to be able to remove many crosses from the graveyard of Ciceronian words assassinated by medieval scribes. We hope that the venerable editor may have strength to complete the last fascicle.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

TENNEY FRANK.

Tertullianus' Citaten uit de Evangeliën en de Oud-Latijnsche Bijbelvertalingen, door Dr. G. J. D. AALDERS. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1932. Pp. 201.

This is a painstaking study of Tertullian's quotations from Matthew and John, to determine whether he used an Old-Latin version (or versions), or translated directly from the Greek. Aalders laments the lack of any thorough investigation of habits

of quotation among the ancients, and the insufficiency of our knowledge of the early Latin Bible versions; then he tabulates the citations, with parallel columns giving the same verse in the Bobiensis (African), Palatinus (African elements), Veronensis ("European"), Monacensis ("Italian"), and one or two others.

The tabulation is very interesting in detail, especially to the student of Latin style and synonymy. Tertullian shows several "African" tendencies, like "sermo" for "verbum" (λόγος), "tinguere" for "baptizare"; but he is so far from uniformity that we find him using *pauperes*, *egeni* and *mendici* in various quotations of Matth. v 3; *stuprare*, *adulterare* (and *-ari*), *moechari*, Matth. v 32; *aequales* (angelis), *similes*, *sicut*, *tamquam*, xxii 30; *compugerunt*, *confixerunt*, *pupugerunt*, *convulneraverunt*, John xix 37. He has a striking agreement in some cases with the Greek text of the Codex Sinaiticus; and he several times uses the classical accusative-infinitive construction in indirect discourse where all known versions translate the Greek ὅτι by a quod or quia clause. Aalders concludes that Tertullian probably quoted in general freely from his accurate recollection of the Greek text, but may have been influenced by an Old-Latin version akin to the Bobiensis, already in circulation. There is much detail of interest to all Latinists in this careful and well-printed book; there is a brief summary in English at the close.

C. U. CLARK.

A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin. By HENRI F. MULLER and PAULINE TAYLOR. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1932. xvii + 315 pp. \$3.60.

This volume, let me say at the outset, is most welcome. It provides an interesting selection of texts, with adequate grammatical and lexical introduction, and thus forms a valuable adjunct to any thorough course in Romance Philology or Medieval Literature. But it must be used with great caution. Prof. Muller is highly dogmatic; no beginner would imagine, from his assured statements, that the science of Romance Philology is still in leading-strings. I have always been shocked at the cavalier manner in which most Romance scholars treat the vital matter of textual criticism; and the student will search here in vain for any accurate statement of the MS readings on which the texts are based. Indeed, he will be prejudiced when he finds such "boners" as "Neapel," "Spalato in Dalmatien," "Terni in Umbrien," lifted bodily from the German text of the Corpus. We have only one chance in the book to check up; there is a facsimile of the Carton des Rois of 677 transcribed on p. 197; and there I note several mistakes, two of which, *fuirint* (for

fuerunt) and nostri (for nostra), are quite misleading. In fact, Prof. Muller leaves unsolved the fundamental question, how much of "vulgar Latin" in e. g. Gregory of Tours, is due to the copyist, not to Gregory himself. How would Prof. Muller explain the fact (quite disregarded, so far as I know) that Gregory wrote the History of the Franks in the rhythm which was the last refinement of rhetoric in his day? I feel sure Gregory's professions of grammatical ignorance are deliberate, to make ignorant listeners feel at home. And I must protest against various bold generalizations. How can one date the "definitive success of Christianity" in 312, when St. Benedict found Apollo still worshipped in his temple at Monte Cassino, over the Rome-Naples highway, in 529? And why should a linguistic manual set out to prove "that the sole interest of the Church had been the spiritual welfare of the people"; see Amm. Marc. XXVII, 3, 12-15. Prof. Muller's dictum that Latin lacked dialectic peculiarities is belied by numerous evidences, from Livy's "Patavinitas" to Cicero's remarks on Spanish brogue. Nor is it accurate to say that the "language of the documents of this period . . . does not differ in its essentials, whether . . . from one region . . . or another." Spanish Latin, e. g., of the early Middle Ages, is quite distinctive. In the same way, the statement that "only in France were practical lawbooks" written in the vulgar tongue, is too sweeping; the similar Spanish MSS are a mine of information for the Romana lingua down there.

No, Romance philology still offers a most inviting field, so much remains to be done. Take e. g. any 50 pages of the big Larousse or Hatzfeld-Darmesteter, and list the words with "origine inconnue." There are hundreds of short French words whose derivation is still entirely unknown. And yet Romance authorities will tell us just how many Celtic words have been preserved in French! The Romance scholar must somehow get a thorough training in paleography, textual criticism and semantics, in addition to being a good Latinist. The present volume is a valuable tool in that training; but the beginner must be warned to handle it carefully.

C. U. CLARK.

Ancient Writing and its Influence. By B. L. ULLMAN. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1932. vii + 234 pp.; 16 plates. \$1.75. (= Our Debt to Greece and Rome, vol. 38.)

Ullman's thorough work over the MSS of various classical authors now bears fruit in this judicious and up-to-date popular exposition of our present knowledge of paleography. No more useful volume has appeared in this handy series. Ullman traces

the origin of the alphabet among the Semites, its development by the Greeks, its elaboration in Italy; then he follows in detail the course of writing in Western Europe, with the help of numerous short but well selected and adequate facsimiles. Each chapter sketches the intellectual development to which the MSS bear witness; and the Latinist will appreciate his comments on Latin authors preserved for us by one or other medieval Renaissance. Much is of wide general interest, like the chapters on punctuation and abbreviations; one misses the explanation of \$, alongside that of £. The book is ideal as a text for courses in Latin paleography, textual criticism, or medieval culture, and may be warmly recommended to the student who wishes to prepare himself to read MSS in facsimile or in the original. There is a good bibliography, and the notes cast light on various moot points, like the Rand-Köhler debate on Alcuin's influence on the Carolingian hand, or the origins of semi-uncial. This is an admirable combination of sound scholarship and popular presentation.

C. U. CLARK.

THE CITY COLLEGE, N. Y.

Constantine The Great and The Christian Church. By NORMAN H. BAYNES. The Raleigh Lecture on History, British Academy, 1929. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XV. London, Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.

The motives governing action by any outstanding historical personage which has affected the course of subsequent events for centuries naturally arouse controversy and this could not but be so in a peculiar degree for Constantine. Was he opportunist or believer, churchman or sceptic? Is his conduct the natural and almost inevitable outcome of the circumstances of the time and of the factors conditioning its thought in general or is it due to a deliberate personal decision made when another decision was equally possible? The desire for realism and objectivity has led many of the most acute of modern students to come down on the side of *raison d'état*. With their determination to escape the falsity of perspective induced by later development we cannot but be in sympathy, and yet this very determination can involve a point of view which is likewise anachronistic, for a strict rationalism as we understand it had little place in the world of the fourth century.

Professor BAYNES has here brought to bear on this problem his marvelous knowledge of the ancient sources for the period and of modern investigation of it, and produced a brilliant account in which Constantine is allowed to give his own story.

The Emperor's letters and edicts are shown to reveal a strong conviction of his mission and of the integral connection between the prosperity of the Roman state and the unity of the Catholic Church. Such is in brief the main contention of this admirable lecture, which is followed by 74 pages of notes surveying and appraising ancient and modern literature of the subject in a manner which it would be an impertinence to praise. Mommsen once said that the gifts of historical thinking were more important than the gifts of historical knowledge. Professor BAYNES has them both in a very uncommon degree and by them he has in this work given to us a masterpiece which no specialist and no intelligent layman interested in knowing how the world has come to be as it is can ignore without grave loss.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

A work of importance to students of MSS is about to be published under the title of *Bibliographie des Travaux de Monsieur HENRI OMONT*. Monsieur Henri Omont, Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has rounded out fifty years of service, and his departmental associates are availing themselves of this occasion to honor their colleague by the issuance of a descriptive catalogue of his works. The book will comprise about 300 pages and the price will be 60 francs. The publisher is Henri Didier, 4-6 Rue Sorbonne, Paris.

C. W. E. M.

WILHELM SCHULZE, editor of the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* and well known to the students of classics by his *Quaestiones epicae* and his *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, will be seventy years of age on the fifteenth of December of this year. To commemorate the occasion it is proposed, provided a sufficient number of subscriptions is obtained, to publish a volume of about 700 pages of the distinguished scholar's "Kleine Schriften." The price has been fixed at 21 marks. Those who are interested in the appearance of the volume should communicate with Professor F. Mezger, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

C. W. E. M.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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